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Viri Romæ

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ILLUSTRIOUS MEN OF ROME.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

PROCA, king of the Albans, had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. He left his kingdom to Numitor, who was the elder, but Amulius, having driven out his brother, reigned in his stead, and that he might deprive him of offspring, he made his daughter, Rhea Silvia, a priestess of Vesta, who, nevertheless, brought forth twin sons, Romulus and Remus. When Amulius found this out, he threw her into chains, put the little ones in a small boat, and cast them upon the Tiber, which at that time, as it happened, had overflowed its banks ; but the river subsiding, the water left them on a dry place. There was, at this time, a vast wilderness in these places. A wolf, as has been handed down by tradition, ran up at their cries, licked the infants with her tongue, offered her teats to their mouth, and acted as a mother.

When the wolf came back to the little ones again and again as to her whelps, Faustulus, the king's shepherd, noticed it, took them to his cottage and gave them to his wife, Acca Larentia, to bring up. Finally, when grown up, they first increased their strength in friendly rivalry

with the shepherds, and afterwards began to wander through the glens in the chase, and to keep robbers from stealing the flocks. And so it happened that once when a band of robbers had lain in wait for them, Remus was taken prisoner, but Romulus protected himself by his strength. Then Faustulus, driven by necessity, told Romulus who their grandfather and mother were. Romulus immediately armed the shepherds and went without loss of time to Alba.

Meantime the robber band had brought Remus to King Amulius, accusing him because he was in the habit of trespassing on Numitor's field. Remus, therefore, was given over to punishment by the king to Numitor, but when Numitor saw the young man's face, and noted his noble demeanor, he came very near recognizing his grandson. For Remus in his features very closely resembled his mother, and his age agreed with the time of his abandonment. While this matter was keeping Numitor's mind anxious, Romulus suddenly arrived, freed his brother, and after killing Amulius, restored his grandfather Numitor to the throne.

Later, Romulus and Remus founded a city on the very spot where they had been abandoned and brought up; but a dispute having arisen between them as to which should give a name to the new city and govern it, they decided to have recourse to auspices. Remus first saw six vultures but Romulus afterward saw twelve, so Romulus, victor by virtue of the augury, called the city Rome. As a protection for the new city, a wall seemed to be sufficient. When Remus, mocking at its lowness, jumped over it, Romulus in anger slew him, upbraiding him in the following words, "So hereafter may he perish, whosoever shall leap over my wall." Thus Romulus alone gained possession of the kingdom.

ROMULUS, FIRST KING OF ROME. (753–715 B. C.)

ROMULUS had made a semblance of a city, rather than a city, for inhabitants were still wanting. There was a grove in the neighborhood. This he made an asylum, and immediately an extraordinary number of thieves and shepherds took refuge there. But since neither Romulus nor his people had wives, he sent envoys round about to the neighboring tribes, to ask for an alliance and the right of intermarriage in behalf of the new people. But the embassy was nowhere kindly received; it was even derided. "Why have you not opened an asylum for women, too?" they said in mockery. "Such would be suitable marriage contracts."

Romulus dissimulated his chagrin, and made preparations for public games; he then gave orders that invitations be issued to the neighbors. The desire of seeing the new city brought many together, and especially the Sabines came, with their wives and children. When the contest had begun, and minds and eyes were intent on it, at a given signal, the Roman youths darted off in different directions and seized the maidens.

This immediately occasioned a war, for the Sabines began war against the Romans on account of the rape of the maidens, and when they were approaching Rome they came upon a girl named Tarpeia, who happened to have gone to draw water outside the walls. Her father was in command of the citadel of Rome. Titus Tatius, the Sabine commander, gave her her choice of a gift if she would lead his army into the Capitol. Tarpeia said she would like what the Sabines wore on their left arms, meaning by that their gold rings and bracelets, and when these had been treacherously promised her, she conducted the Sabines into the citadel. Once there, Tatius gave the order for her to be buried under shields, for the Sabines had these too in

their left hands. So this wicked act of treason was quickly punished.

Then Romulus advanced to combat, and joined in battle in that place where the Roman forum now is. In the first onset a man famous among the Romans, Hostilius by name, fell fighting with great bravery, and, at his death, the Romans, dismayed, began to flee. Already the Sabines were beginning to cry again and again, "We have conquered our faithless hosts, cowardly foes that they are. Now they have found out that it is one thing to carry off maidens and quite another to fight with men." Then Romulus, raising his shield and spear to heaven, vowed a temple to Jupiter, and the army either by chance or by divine influence rallied. And so the battle was being renewed, when the captured women, with loosened hair, ventured to throw themselves among the flying darts, and beseeching on one side their fathers and on the other their husbands, brought about a reconciliation.

Romulus, having made a treaty with Tatius, received the Sabines into the city and shared his kingdom with Tatius. But at the death of Tatius, not long after, the sole power reverted to Romulus. He then chose one hundred from among the older men in accordance with whose advice he might carry on the government, and these he called senators on account of their advanced age. He constituted three centuries of knights, and divided the people into thirty curiae. When he had carried out these arrangements and was holding an assembly for inspecting the army in the Campus Martius, near the Goat's Pool, a great storm with thunder and lightning suddenly arose, and Romulus vanished from sight. It was commonly believed that he had been translated to the gods, and Julius Proculus, a man of noble family, won credence for this miracle.

For, a dissension arising between the patricians and the plebeians, he came forward in the assembly and affirmed on oath that he had seen Romulus with more majestic mien than usual, and that he had directed them to refrain from civil discord and apply themselves to military matters: for thus it would happen that they would become masters of all other tribes. A temple to Romulus was built upon the Quirinal Hill, and he was worshiped as a god and called Quirinus.

NUMA POMPILIUS, SECOND KING OF ROME. (715–673 B. C.)

Romulus was succeeded by Numa Pompilius, a man celebrated for his justice and piety. He was summoned from Cures, a town of the Sabines. When he had come to Rome, he instituted many sacred rites, so as to humanize the savage people by religion. He dedicated an altar to Vesta and entrusted to priestesses of Vesta the care of keeping a fire perpetually burning on the altar. He appointed a priest of Jupiter, called a flamen, and gave him as insignia of office a peculiar dress and the curule chair. It is said that he once called down Jupiter himself from heaven. The latter descended into the grove on Mount Aventine amid a great storm of thunder and lightning sent down upon the city, where he taught Numa by what rites he could avert thunder and lightning, and furthermore promised that he would give the Roman people unmistakable pledges of power. Numa, overjoyed, announced this to the people. On the next day they all came to the king's palace and waited in silence to see what would happen. Finally, at sunrise, a shield descended from a rift in the sky, to which Numa gave the name *ancile.* That this shield might not be stolen, he gave instruc-

tions to Mamurius, a worker in iron, to make eleven more shields of the same shape. He appointed, moreover, twelve Salii, as priests of Mars, to guard the shields, those secret pledges of power, and to carry them through the city each year on the first of March, singing and dancing with suitable rites. He divided up the year into twelve lunar months and named days on which public business must not be done, and others on which it was allowed ; he built the gates to two-faced Janus, to serve as a sign of peace and war; for when open, it signified that the city was at war, but if closed, that all the tribes round about were at peace.

Numa also passed many useful laws. To gain greater weight for his decrees, he feigned that he had conversations by night with a nymph Egeria, and that at her suggestion all his reforms were undertaken. There was a grove, the middle of which a never-failing spring kept moist with its water, and here Numa often used to go without witnesses ostensibly to meet the goddess. In this manner he so imbued the minds of all his subjects with piety that respect for good faith and their oath restrained the citizens not less than laws and the fear of punishment. It is true that he did not wage any war, but he served the state no less than Romulus. He died of disease and was buried on Mt. Janiculus. Thus two kings in succession advanced the state, the one by war and the other by peace.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS, THE THIRD KING OF ROME.

(673-641 B. C.)

On the death of Numa, Tullus Hostilius was made king. He was not only unlike the preceding king, but even more warlike than Romulus. During his reign

war arose between the Albans and the Romans. The leaders, Hostilius and Fufetius, decided to settle the dispute by single combat. There were among the Romans three brothers named Horatii and three among the Albans named Curiatii, triplets. With these the kings arranged that each should fight for his country with the sword. An agreement was made with the understanding that the rule should belong to the side which won the victory.

When this agreement had been made, the three brothers on each side took their arms and came forward between the two lines of battle; for the two armies had taken their position on either hand. The signal was given and the young men, three on each side, in hostile array, breathing the spirit of mighty armies, rushed together. When, in the first onset, their arms resounded and their gleaming swords shone in the sun, deep horror thrilled the spectators. Then they closed on each other and immediately two of the Romans fell, breathing their last, one above the other, but all three of the Albans were wounded. At the fall of the Romans the Alban army shouted for joy. The Romans were already beginning to lose all hope, for the three Curiatii had surrounded the surviving Horatius. The latter was, as it happened, still unwounded, but since he was not a match for three, in order to separate his antagonists he resorted to flight, thinking that they would follow one by one, at intervals. He had already run a considerable distance from the spot where the conflict took place, when, looking back, he saw that one of the Curiatii was not far from him. On him he turned with great fury, and while the Alban army was shouting out to the Curiatii to bear aid to their brother, Horatius had killed him. He then killed the second before the third could come up. Now one on each side was

left, but they were equally matched neither in courage nor strength, for one was untouched by the sword and emboldened by his twofold victory; the other was dragging along a body tired out by wounds and running. Nor could what followed be called a battle. The Roman, in exultation, despatched Curiatius, scarcely able to endure the weight of his armor, and stripped his fallen foe. The Romans received Horatius with applause and congratulations, and escorted him to his home. Horatius was marching at the head of the procession carrying before him the spoils of the three brothers; his sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii, met him, and when she saw her lover's cloak, which she had made with her own hands, on her brother's shoulders, she began to weep and unbind her hair. The lamentation of his sister, amid such universal public joy, stirred the anger of the warlike youth and, drawing his sword, he stabbed the girl, reproaching her in the following words: "Go hence, with your untimely love, to your lover; you who have forgotten your brother, who have forgotten your country. So may any Roman woman perish who dares lament a foe."

This deed seemed horrible to both patricians and plebeians; so Horatius was carried to court and condemned, in the presence of the judges. The lictor had already come up, and was putting the noose around his neck, when Horatius appealed to the people. The aged father of Horatius kept crying out that his daughter had been justly killed, and embracing the young man and showing the spoils of the Curiatii, implored the people not to bereave utterly of children a man whom they had but a short time before seen in the midst of so fine a family. The people could not endure the tears of the father and freed the young man, rather

from admiration of his courage than because of the justice of his cause. That this open murder might not, however, go unavenged, the father, after having performed various expiatory rites, put a beam across the road, and made his son pass under it blindfolded, as under a yoke; and this was called "the sister's beam."

The peace with Alba did not last long; for Mettius Fufetius, the leader of the Albans, when he saw that he was unpopular with his fellow-citizens, because he had brought the war to an end by single combat, to set the matter right, excited the people of Veii and of Fidenae against the Romans. He himself, having been summoned by Tullus to aid him, withdrew his army to a hill to await and follow the issue of the war. When Tullus perceived this, he said in a loud voice that Mettius was acting thus by his orders, so as to surround the enemy at the rear; and as soon as the enemy heard this they became frightened and were conquered. When Mettius came the next day to congratulate Tullus, he was bound to a four-horse chariot by the latter's orders, and was pulled to pieces. Then Tullus destroyed Alba owing to the faithlessness of its leader, and ordered the Albans to migrate to Rome.

Rome, meantime, grew in size; owing to the destruction of Alba, the number of its citizens was doubled; the Caelian hill was added to the city; and, that it might be more thickly settled, Tullus chose it as the site for his palace, and lived there from that time. Filled with confidence due to the increased strength of the city, he declared war against the Sabines; a pestilence followed; still there was no cessation in the warfare, for the war-loving king believed that young men's bodies are more healthy in war than in peace; but he, too, fell into the clutches of a lingering illness, and then

indeed that high spirit of his was so broken at the same time with physical weakness, that henceforward he paid no attention to anything except the performance of religious rites. The story is that Tullus was struck by lightning, and, with his house, burned to death. Tullus reigned for thirty-two years, and attained great renown in war.

ANCUS MARCIUS, FOURTH KING OF ROME. (641–616 B. C.)

After the death of Tullus, the people made Ancus Marcius king. Ancus Marcius was the grandson of Numa Pompilius, and resembled his grandfather in justice and his attention to religion. At that time, the Latins, with whom in the reign of Tullus a treaty had been made, took fresh courage and made an incursion into the territory of the Romans. Before Ancus declared war against them, he sent an envoy to demand satisfaction, and this his descendants adopted as a custom. This was done in the following way. When the envoy had reached the territory of the tribe from whom satisfaction was being demanded, he veiled his head and spoke as follows. "Hear, great Jupiter, hear, land of this people. I am the accredited messenger of the Roman people: let faith be placed in my words." Then he stated his demands. If they were not granted, be hurled a spear into the enemy's territory and thus made declaration of war. The envoy who was sent on this errand was called *fetialis* and the ceremony of declaring war the *ius fetiale*.

To the Roman envoy who was demanding satisfaction, a haughty answer was returned, so war was declared against the Latins in the manner described. Ancus, having levied an army, set forth from Rome, routed the Latins and, having destroyed many of their

towns, carried the inhabitants to Rome. But since in so great a concourse of men there were latent crimes, Ancus built a prison in the middle of the city to act as a preventive against the increasing license.

He also surrounded the city with a new wall, and connected Mount Janiculum with the city by a bridge of piles built across the Tiber, and he founded the seaport of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. After having accomplished many other designs within a few years, he died, swept away by an early death.

LUCIUS TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, FIFTH KING OF ROME. (616–578 B. C.)

While Ancus was reigning, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus set forth from a city in Etruria, and migrated to Rome with his wife and all his belongings. The following story is also told of him. As he approached the city, an eagle took off his felt cap, and hovering with a shrill cry above the carriage in which Tarquinius was sitting, put it back again skilfully on his head. It then rose into the air and disappeared. His wife, Tanaquil, skilled in heavenly omens, understood that royal power was being predicted for him, and embracing her husband bade him hope for lofty and distinguished fortune. Bearing these hopes and reflections in their hearts, they entered the city, and, having found a home there, Tarquinius by his wealth and industry attained a position of respect and even of intimacy with King Ancus. On the death of the latter, being appointed by will tutor to his children, he usurped the kingdom and carried on the government as if he had lawfully attained it.

Tarquinius Priscus subdued the Latins in war, built the Circus Maximus, celebrated a triumph in conse-

quence of a victory over the Sabines and surrounded the city with a wall of stone. He doubled the number of the centuries of knights, but could not change their names, being hindered, as was said, by the influence of Accius Navius. For Accius, an augur celebrated at that time, declared that this could not be done unless the omens were favorable, whereupon the king in anger, to try his skill, asked him whether that could be done which he then had in mind. Accius, having taken the auspices, replied that it could be done. "Oh," said the king, "but I was wondering whether I could cut that whetstone over there with a razor." "Well then," said the augur, "you can," and the king is said to have cut it. Tarquinius gave his son, a boy of thirteen years, the *toga praetexta,* or toga with a broad purple border, and the *bulla,* or amulet of gold, and from this time these began to be the insignia of boys of good family.

Two sons of Ancus survived him, who, feeling aggrieved because they had been fraudulently kept from their father's kingdom, set a plot on foot against the king. From among the shepherds they chose two of the boldest to perpetrate the crime. These feigned a quarrel and raised a disturbance in the vestibule of the palace. When their outcry had penetrated the palace, they were summoned to appear before the king. At first each began to shout at the top of his voice and try to drown each other's words, but when ordered to speak in turn one of them, according to a prearranged plan, began the narration, and while the king, having turned around, was giving his whole attention to that one, the other raised his battle-ax and hurled it at the king's head. Then, leaving the weapon in the wound, both rushed out.

SERVIUS TULLIUS, SIXTH KING OF ROME. (578–534 B. C.)

After him, Servius Tullius received the kingdom. His mother was of good birth, though a captive and a serving-maid. When he was being brought up in the palace of Tarquinius Priscus, they say that a prodigy took place wonderful in aspect and results. A semblance of flame played around the head of the boy as he slept. At this sight Tanaquil understood that some great prominence was being predicted for him, and persuaded her husband to educate him exactly like their own children. After he grew up, he was renowned for his strength and wisdom. In a battle in which King Tarquinius was contending against the Sabines, when his soldiers were fighting without much spirit, Tullius seized the standard of the legion and hurled it into the midst of the enemy. To recover this, the Romans fought so sharply that they bore off the standard and the victory. On this account he was received as a son-in-law by King Tarquinius, and when Tarquinius had been killed, Tanaquil, his wife, concealed his death, and addressing the people from an upper story of the palace, said that the king had received a wound, serious to be sure, but one that was not fatal, and that he asked them in the mean time, till he got well, to render allegiance to Servius Tullius. This was the way in which Servius Tullius came to the throne, but he governed the empire with justice. He conquered the Sabines, added three hills—the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline—to the city, and made moats around the wall. He also established a census and divided the people into classes and centuries.

Servius Tullius was anxious to add some adornment to the city. Just at that time the temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was much talked of. A report was current that it had been built by the states of Asia in common,

and so he persuaded the Latins that they too, with the Roman people, should build a temple of Diana at Rome on the Aventine Hill. When this had been completed, it is said that a certain Latin had among his stock a heifer of remarkable size, and an oracle was given him in a dream, that that people should hold supremacy, one of whose citizens should sacrifice this heifer to Diana. The Latin brought his heifer to the temple of Diana and laid the matter before the Roman priest. The latter cunningly told him that he must first wash his hands in running water. While the Latin was going down to the Tiber, the priest sacrificed the heifer. Thus he gained dominion for his fellow-citizens and glory for himself.

Now Servius Tullius had two daughters, the one violent and the other mild, and when he saw that the sons of Tarquinius were of like disposition, he married his violent daughter to the mild young man and his mild daughter to the violent young man, so that two violent natures might not be united in marriage; but the mild ones perished, either by chance or by design, and a similarity of character drew the violent ones together. Tarquinius straightway, urged on by Tullia, called the senate together and began to make repeated attacks on her father's kingdom. When Servius, on hearing this, was hurrying to the senate house, by order of Tarquinius he was hurled down the stairs, and while fleeing home was killed. Tullia entered her carriage and hurried to the forum; she called her husband from the senate house and was the first to greet him as king. When by her advice he had withdrawn from the crowd and tumult, and was returning home, she saw the dead body of her father, but when the driver hesitated and drew in rein, she told him to drive the carriage directly

over the body, whence this was called the Street of Crime. Servius Tullius reigned forty-four years.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, SEVENTH AND LAST KING OF ROME.
(534–510 B. C.)

Tarquinius Superbus had gained the throne by crime, but in spite of that he was active in war and conquered the Latins and the Sabines. He reduced the city of Gabii to submission through a deception on the part of his son Sextus, who, taking it to heart that his father could not capture the city, went to the people of Gabii and complained of his father's cruelty toward him. Being kindly received by them, he little by little gained their confidence, and so drew them on by false flattery that he had great influence with all, and was finally chosen commander of the war. Then he sent one of his followers to his father to ask him what he wanted him to do next. His father gave no answer to his son's message, but as if lost in thought went into the garden, and as he walked to and fro there, with the messenger following close behind, struck off the heads of the tallest poppies with his cane. The messenger grew tired of waiting and went back to Gabii. When Sextus was informed of his father's silence and action, he understood what he meant. He killed the chief men of the state and delivered up the city to his father without any contention.

Some time later the king was besieging the city of Ardea. While they were in camp there, Tarquinius Collatinus, the king's nephew, happened to be dining with other young men of royal blood at the house of Sextus Tarquinius. Finally the conversation turned upon their wives, and since each sung the praises of

his own, they resolved to test the matter. They therefore hurried to Rome and surprised the king's daughters-in-law in the indulgence of the table. From there they went on to Collatia; Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, was found among her maid-servants busily engaged in spinning. She therefore was declared to be superior to the rest. After an interval of a few days, Sextus returned to Collatia and offered violence to Lucretia. On the next day Lucretia called her husband and her father to her, told them everything, and then killed herself with a dagger which she had concealed under her gown. Her husband and father swore to avenge her and made a conspiracy against the king and his family. As Tarquinius was returning to Rome, the gates of the city were closed and he was proclaimed an exile.

In old annals the following story is related: An old woman, a stranger and unknown to him, once came to the king Tarquinius Priscus, bringing nine books, which she said contained divine prophecies, and she wanted to sell them. When Tarquinius inquired the price, the woman named an extortionate sum. The king laughed, thinking the old woman in her second childhood, but she, drawing up a brazier containing fire, burned three books out of the nine, and then asked the king if he wanted to buy the remaining six at the same price. At this Tarquinius laughed all the more, and said that now there was no longer any doubt that the old woman was raving. The woman on the spot burned three more of the books, and again calmly asked him to buy the three remaining at the same price. Tarquinius now became serious and gave her his attention, for he thought her persistency and assurance ought not to be disregarded. He bought the three remaining books at just the same price which

had been asked for all, but the woman, so the story goes, left Tarquinius and was never seen again. The three books were kept in a shrine and called the Sibylline books. To them, as to an oracle, the college of priests referred when the immortal gods were to be consulted on behalf of the state.

JUNIUS BRUTUS, FIRST ROMAN CONSUL. (510 B. C.)

Junius Brutus, the nephew of Tarquinius Superbus, fearing the same fate which had befallen his brother, who had been killed by his uncle on account of his wealth and sagacity, feigned idiocy, and on that account was called Brutus. When he went to Delphi with the sons of Tarquinius, whom their father had sent to honor Apollo with gifts, he carried the god a present of gold concealed in a staff of alder-wood. After the young men had followed out their father's instructions, they asked Apollo which of them was going to rule at Rome. The reply was given that he would have imperial power at Rome who should be the first to kiss his mother. Then Brutus, falling as if by accident, kissed the earth, evidently because she is the mother of all living things.

After the expulsion of the kings, two consuls were appointed, Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia; but the newly-gained liberty was almost lost through deceit and treachery. There were among the Roman youth certain young men, boon companions of the young sons of Tarquinius. These entered into negotiations for restoring the monarchy with the envoys whom the king had sent to Rome to recover his property, and they admitted to participation

in their plan the own sons of Brutus, the consul. Their conversation was overheard by one of the slaves, who reported it to the consuls. A letter written by them to Tarquinius made their guilt clear. They were cast into chains as traitors and condemned to death. The noble youths were all standing bound to a stake, but the children of the consul drew all eyes away from the others to themselves. The consuls took their places and the lictors proceeded to strip the prisoners, beat them with their rods, and finally cut them down with their axes. Brutus was not only the spectator, but even the enforcer of the punishment; he laid aside the feelings of a father to perform more scrupulously the functions of a consul. Thereupon Tarquinius attempted to recover his throne in open warfare. Aruns, a son of Tarquinius, was in command of the cavalry, and the king himself followed with the legions. The consuls went to meet the enemy and Brutus went forward with the cavalry to reconnoiter. When Aruns recognized Brutus in the distance, inflamed with anger he cried out, "That is the man who has driven us from our country. See him proudly advancing, adorned with insignia which belong to us!" Then he spurred on his horse and guided him directly toward the consul. Brutus was equally ready to engage. They met with such a shock that each fell pierced by his antogonist's spear; Tarquinius however escaped. The other consul returned to Rome and held a triumph. He buried his colleague Brutus with all possible pomp and the Roman women went into mourning a whole year for Brutus, as for a father.

HORATIUS COCLES. (507 B. C.)

Porsena, king of the Etruscans, came to Rome with a hostile army for the purpose of restoring the Tarquins to the throne. In his first onset he captured Janiculum.

Never before had such terror taken possession of the Romans, for at that time the state of Clusium was strong, and Porsena's name carried weight. The people removed from the fields to the city, which they fortified with garrisons. One part of it was considered safe owing to a wall, and another by the interposition of the Tiber. The bridge of piles would have furnished a passage to the enemy if it had not been for one man, Horatius Cocles, called by this surname because he had lost an eye in a previous battle. When the end of the bridge was already in the hands of the enemy, he resisted single-handed until the bridge was cut down behind him. The enemy were dazed by his boldness, and after the bridge was cut down he leaped with all his armor into the Tiber and, though many weapons fell around him, swam in safety to his friends. The state was so grateful to him for his bravery that he was given in the name of the state as much land as he could plough around in a day. A statue was also erected to him in the Comitium.

MUCIUS SCAEVOLA. (507 B. C.)

When Porsena was besieging Rome, Mucius, a man of Roman fidelity, came to the senate and begged permission to go over to the enemy, promising that if his request were granted, he would kill the king. Having obtained it, he went to Porsena's camp and in a dense throng took his place near the tribunal. Pay, as

it happened, was just being distributed to the soldiers, and a secretary was sitting with the king dressed in much the same way. Mucius, not knowing which the king was, killed him instead of the king. When he was seized and dragged before the king, he thrust his right hand into a brazier which had been lighted for offering sacrifice, as if to punish his hand for killing the wrong person. The king, astonished at his amazing courage, gave the youth his freedom, whereupon Mucius, in requital of his kindness, disclosed to him that three hundred young men, his equals in daring, had sworn to take his life. The king, terrified at this, accepted hostages and put an end to the war. Meadow land on the other side of the Tiber was given to Mucius and called from his name Mucia. A statue was also erected in his honor.

THE MAIDEN CLOELIA. (507 B. C.)

Among the hostages, Porsena received a girl of noble family, named Cloelia. As the camp of the Etruscans was situated not far from the banks of the Tiber, Cloelia eluded the guards, and leaving the camp by night on a horse which chance had thrown in her way, crossed the Tiber. When this was reported to the king, he was at first very angry, and sent envoys to Rome to demand that they should send Cloelia, his hostage, back. The Romans, in accordance with their agreement, restored this pledge of their good faith, but the king, admiring the girl's bravery, praised her, and saying that he would give her a part of the hostages as a reward, allowed her to choose such as she wished. When the hostages were brought out, Cloelia chose the girls and boys, whose youth, she knew, exposed them to harm, and returned with them to her

country. The Romans recompensed this unusual courage in a woman by an unwonted honor, namely, an equestrian statue. The maiden was represented sitting on a horse, and the statue was placed at the head of the Via Sacra.

PUBLIUS VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.

(506 B. C.)

Tarquinius Collatinus abdicated the consulship because the name of Tarquinius was hateful to the people. Publius Valerius was therefore chosen consul, the man by whose aid Brutus had expelled the kings. But because he had not chosen another consul in place of Brutus, who had been killed, and had built a house on the Velian hill, which was a high and well fortified place, he came under suspicion of aspiring to kingly power. When he found this out, he lamented in the presence of the people that they had supposed him capable of such a design, and sent workmen to tear down his house. He even took the axes from the fasces, and lowered the fasces in the assembly of the people to signify that the people's power was greater than that of the consul. This was a pleasing sight to the populace. From this circumstance the name Publicola was given to Valerius. Though he had been consul four times, he died so poor that he could not defray his funeral expenses. He was buried with the proceeds of a public collection, and was honored by the wearing of mourning among the women for a year.

AULUS POSTUMIUS, THE DICTATOR. (496 B. C.)

After Tarquinius had been expelled, he had fled for refuge to his son-in-law, Mamilius, a native of Tusculum, and since the latter, with the aid of the peoples of Latium, was severely harassing the Romans, a new office was created at Rome, higher than the consulship, which was called the dictatorship. In the same year, too, a master of the horse was appointed to act as subordinate to the dictator. Aulus Postumius was chosen dictator and fought with the enemy at Lake Regillus. When the victory was in doubt, the master of the horse ordered the bridles to be taken off the horses so that they could not be checked in the onset: thus the Romans broke the battle line of the Latins and took their camp. Tarquinius is said to have retired to Cumae and to have died in that city worn out by age and grief. It is related that he said that when he was an exile he found out which of his friends were faithful and which unfaithful, since he could then pay back neither.

MENENIUS AGRIPPA. (494 B. C.)

Menenius Agrippa restored harmony between the patricians and plebeians. For when the plebeians had seceded from the patricians and had retired to the Sacred Mount, because they could not endure the taxes and military service, Agrippa, who was an eloquent man, was sent to them. When he was admitted to the camp, he is said to have merely told the following allegory.

Once upon a time the members of the human body, when they saw the belly idle, fell out with it and

agreed that the hands should not raise food to the mouth, nor the mouth receive it when presented, nor the teeth masticate it. But in their efforts to get the better of the belly, they weakened themselves, and the whole body fell into a state of extreme debility, from which they became aware that the belly's office was no sinecure, as it digested the food that it received and distributed it through all the members; they, therefore, took it back into favor. So the senate and plebeians, as being one body politic, perish through discord, but by harmony keep well.

By this allegory Menenius changed the sentiments of the plebeians, and they returned to the city, He, however, appointed tribunes of the people to protect their liberty from the encroachments of the nobles. Menenius died soon after: he was a man beloved alike by patricians and plebeians. Still he died in such poverty that the plebeians buried him, each giving a small sum, and the senate in behalf of the state donated the ground for a tomb. Menenius serves as a consolation to the poor, but still more as a teacher to the rich, that it is not necessary for a man desiring honest praise to take too much thought for acquiring wealth.

GAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

Gaius Marcius, a man of patrician family, was called Coriolanus from the capture of Corioli, a city of the Volscians. Having lost his father when he was a boy, he grew up under the supervision of his mother. When, as a young man, he had begun to engage in military service, he never returned from any battles in which he took part without being presented with a crown or some other reward for military daring. In

his whole conduct of life he had no other aim than to please his mother, and thought himself happy only when she heard her son commended or saw him presented with a crown.

Though Coriolanus had been presented by the consul Postumus Cominius with all the gifts for military daring at his command, with one hundred acres of land, the choice of ten captives, and the same number of horses fully equipped ; also with a flock of one hundred cattle and as much silver as he could carry, he would not accept any of them except the freedom of one captive, a guest-friend of his, and a horse to use in battle.

Having been made consul, he had the grain which had been brought from Sicily owing to a poor harvest, distributed to the people at a high price, that they might cultivate their fields and not insurrections, and being condemned to death for this, he fled to the Volscians, who at that time were at enmity with the Romans. Virtue is everywhere held at a premium, and so wherever he went to seek a hiding-place, there he soon attained the chief command. Being chosen general by the Volscians, he pitched his camp at the fourth milestone from the city and plundered the territory of the Romans. The spokesmen who were sent to Marcius to ask terms of peace brought back a harsh reply. When they were sent a second time, they were not received into the camp. The priests even, who were sent with their fillets, returned having accomplished nothing. The senate was dazed, the people were in dismay. Men as well as women went about bewailing the destruction which menaced them. Then Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and his wife, Volumnia, leading her two little sons by the hand, went to the camp of the Volscians, that the

women might defend the city by tears and prayers, since the men could not defend it by arms. When Coriolanus saw his mother, he said : "Oh country, you have overcome my anger by employing her prayers, and for her sake I pardon the wrong you have done me." Thereupon he embraced his family, moved his camp, and withdrew his army from the Roman territory. It it said that Coriolanus was afterwards put to death by the Volscians as a traitor. Others said he lived to old age.

THE THREE HUNDRED AND SIX FABII.

(479–477 B. C.)

When the Romans were being harassed by constant incursions on the part of the inhabitants of Veii, the Fabian family came before the senate. Fabius, the consul, spoke for his family: "Do you turn your attention to other wars; pit us Fabii against the inhabitants of Veii: we intend to wage this war at our private expense." Sincere thanks were returned to him. The consul going out of the senate-house returned home, accompanied by a band of Fabii. The rumor spread through the whole city; they extolled Fabius to the sky with praise; on the next day the Fabii took up arms. Never did an army fewer in numbers or more distinguished in renown and the admiration of men advance through the city. There they went, three hundred and six soldiers, all patricians and all of one family. They came to the river Cremera. This seemed a suitable place for stationing a garrison. The enemy, without having once been routed, as suppliants sued for peace, but soon repenting of the peace which they had obtained, they renewed the war, and conceived the design of conquering their fierce op-

ponents by a stratagem. The daring of the Fabii had increased with many successes. When therefore, scattered here and there, they were devastating the fields, the inhabitants of Veii drove some cattle in their direction, and the Fabii while in pursuit of them fell into an ambuscade and all perished, to a man. The day on which this happened was reckoned among the days on which no public business could be done, and the gate by which they had left the city was called the gate of crime. One only of this family survived, who had been left at home on account of his tender years. He continued the race to Quintus Fabius Maximus, who by his policy of delay broke Hannibal's power.

QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS. (458 B. C.)

The Aequi were holding the consul Minucius and his army in a state of siege. When the news was brought to Rome, the fear and consternation were as great as if the enemy were besieging the city itself instead of the camp, and since the other consul seemed too slight a defense, it was voted to appoint a dictator to restore their shattered fortunes. Quinctius Cincinnatus, by the agreement of all, was named dictator. He, the only hope of the Roman state, was at the time cultivating a farm of four acres. The envoys who were sent to him found him without his toga ploughing. After greetings had been given and returned, Quinctius bade his wife Racilia quickly bring his toga from his cottage that he might have his toga on when he heard the command of the senate. When Quinctius came forward having wiped away the dust and perspiration, the envoys saluted him as dictator and congratulated him: they also laid before him the demoralization of the army.

Quinctius therefore went to Rome and was preceded to his house by the lictors, who acted as escort. On the next day he set out from the city, freed Minucius from siege, and sent the enemy, conquered, under the yoke. He entered the city in triumph. The leaders of the enemy were led before his chariot and the military ensigns were carried in front; the army followed laden with booty; feasts were prepared before all the houses. And all this was accomplished by Quinctius with such speed that though he had received the dictatorship for six months, he laid it down on the sixteenth day, so that it seemed as if the dictator were hurrying back to the work that he had left; for, the expedition over, the farmer after the honors of a triumph returned to his cattle.

LUCIUS VIRGINIUS, THE CENTURION. (451 B. C.)

In the three hundredth year after the foundation of the city, instead of two consuls, a body of ten men called decemviri was appointed to lay before the people laws brought from Greece. These were written on twelve tablets. But the decemviri ruined themselves by their own insolence. One of them, Appius Claudius, was deeply in love with a girl of plebeian family. When he could not seduce her by the hope of reward, he suborned one of his clients to declare that she was a slave, thinking that he could easily carry his point since he was himself both plaintiff and judge. Lucius Virginius, the father of the girl, was absent at the time on a military campaign. The client therefore laid hands on the girl as she was coming into the forum (for there were schools in the buildings there) declaring that she was his slave; he bade her follow him, threat-

ening to take her by force if she refused. The frightened girl was dazed, but at the cries of her attendant a great crowd collected; and since the man could not forcibly abduct her, he called her to trial before Appius himself, as judge.

Meantime messengers had been sent in haste to Virginius. He left the camp on furlough, and arrived at Rome at daybreak to find the whole populace in the forum, all agog with curiosity. Virginius, in tears, lost no time in bringing his daughter into the forum and imploring the help of his fellow-citizens. Nevertheless, Appius, when he had ascended the tribunal, awarded Virginia to his client. When her father saw that there was no means of escape, he said: "Pardon, Appius, I pray, a father's grief; permit me to speak a parting word to my daughter." On his request being granted, he drew his daughter aside, and seizing a knife from a butcher, stabbed the girl to the heart. He then forced a way for himself through the crowd, and stained with blood, fled to the army, where he urged the soldiers to avenge so terrible a crime. The army espoused his cause and took its position on Mount Aventine; it appointed ten tribunes of the soldiers, forced the decemviri to abdicate their office, and punished them all either with death or exile. Appius Claudius himself was thrown into prison, where he committed suicide.

MARCUS FURIUS CAMILLUS.

When Marcus Furius Camillus was besieging the town of Falerii, the master of one of the schools there, taking out a number of boys of the best families as if for a walk, brought them into the camp of the Romans.

It was clear that if they were given over to Camillus, the Falisci would give up the war and surrender themselves to the Romans. But Camillus detested the traitor's perfidy, and said: "You have not come to a man like yourself: there are laws of war as of peace. We are not making war against those whose tender age victors spare even when they take a city, but against armed men who, without being harmed or harassed by us, have assaulted the Roman camp at Veii." Then giving orders to strip the master and tie his hands behind his back, he gave him over to the boys to take back to the town, and furnished them with rods with which to beat the traitor on the way back. Forthwith the Falisci, conquered by kindness rather than by arms, opened their gates to the Romans.

The Veientes also revolted at that time. How great their strength was is proved by the fact that the siege lasted ten years. Then for the first time tents of skin were made in the winter-quarters for the soldiers; then first pay from the treasury was given to the soldiers, and each was bound by an oath not to go away before the city was taken. Finally the destruction of the city was accomplished, not by scaling ladders or breaking in the gates, but by the device of a mine and tunnel.

Shortly after, Camillus was brought to trial on the charge that he had used white horses in his triumph, and had made an unjust distribution of the spoils; on the day appointed for the trial he was condemned by Lucius Appeleius, the tribune of the people, and retired to Ardea. As he left the city, he is said to have besought of the gods that if he were innocent to whom this wrong was done, they would, at the very first opportunity, inspire his ungrateful country with regret for his loss.

Soon after, the Senones, a people of Gaul, laid siege to Clusium, a town in Etruria. The people of Clusium, alarmed at this new war, begged aid of the Romans. Three envoys were sent from Rome to warn the Gauls to desist from the siege. One of these envoys, in defiance of the law of nations, entered the lists and killed the leader of the Senones. This aroused the anger of the Gauls, and having asked for the surrender of the envoys and gained their request, they marched on Rome, and on the eighteenth of July cut the Roman army to pieces at the river Allia. This day was reckoned among the days on which no public business could be transacted, and was called Allia day.

The victorious Gauls arrived at Rome just before sunrise. When the news was brought that the enemy was before the gates, those of the young men who had not perished at the Allia, retreated with Manlius to the citadel, but the old men returned home to await the coming of the Gauls with their minds stubbornly fixed on death. Those of them who had held curule magistracies, arrayed in their insignia of office, took their seats before the doors of their houses on their ivory chairs, that when the enemy came they might die in the dignity of their office. Meantime the Gauls, entering the open houses, saw the old men clad in their white togas with broad purple border, and looking like gods in their splendid apparel and the majesty of their countenances. While the Gauls stood gazing upon them as upon statues, one of the elders is said to have hit on the head with his ivory staff a Gaul who dared to stroke his beard. The Gaul in anger killed him and this was the signal for a general slaughter. All the rest were killed in their seats.

Then the Gauls decided to make an attack upon the citadel, but they first sent a soldier ahead to find a suit-

able path. Then, on a clear night, raising themselves up one after another and those above dragging up the ones below, they finally came out upon the top, having ascended with such silence that they not only escaped the notice of the guards, but did not even rouse the dogs, animals who are always watchful for noises at night. They did not however escape the notice of the geese which the Romans had spared, although they were in such need, because these birds were sacred to Juno. This fact proved the salvation of the Romans, for Manlius, a man renowned in war, aroused by their cackling and the flapping of their wings, called his companions to arms, and while they were hurrying hither and thither in confusion, snatching up his arms he struck a Gaul who had just gained a foothold on the summit with his shield and toppled him over. Since in his fall he overthrew those just behind him, all the Gauls who were climbing up were easily dislodged.

Then it was voted by agreement of all to recall Camillus from exile. Envoys were accordingly sent to him, and though absent he was named dictator. Meantime famine was pressing hard on both the armies, but that the Gauls might not think that the Romans were being forced to surrender by this necessity, in many places bread was thrown from the Capitol into the outposts of the enemy. Finally the Gauls, also worn out by the siege, were induced by the offer of a thousand pounds of gold to lift the siege, but when false scales had been brought, and the leader of the Gauls, insolently throwing his sword into the scalepan with the weights, was loudly crying out, "Woe to the vanquished!" Camillus, the dictator, appeared on the scene having collected the remnant of the Roman army. He ordered the gold to be taken away, and bade the Gauls prepare themselves for battle. Then he drew up his

men in battle line and conquered the Gauls. Not even a man survived to carry the news of this defeat. Having rescued his country from the enemy, the dictator entered the city in triumph, and was called by his soldiers father of his country and second founder of the city. But as he restored a town to its inhabitants, so he restored inhabitants to a town, for the tribunes of the people were deliberating the advisability of moving Veii from its old ruined site to a city already built; but this plan was frustrated by a very powerful speech of Camillus, and also an omen influenced the people, namely, the words of a certain centurion who had said to the soldiers of his maniple: "Standard-bearer, set up the standard. This will be the best place for us to stay." On hearing these words, the senators all cried out that they accepted the omen, and the common people who had gathered about in crowds gave their approval.

Marcus Manlius, who had defended the Capitol from the Gauls, though he freed citizens who were hampered by debt and released those who for the same reason had been enslaved, was condemned on a charge of having aspired to kingly power and was hurled from the Tarpeian rock.

GAIUS LICINIUS STOLO.

Fabius Ambustus married one of his two daughters to Licinius Stolo, a plebeian, the other to Aulus Sulpicius, a patrician. Aulus Sulpicius was a tribune of the people with consular power. While the two sisters, as it happened, were passing their time in conversation at his house as they often did, it happened by chance that the lictor of Sulpicius, when the latter was return-

ing home, knocked on the door with his official rod, as the custom is. When the younger sister, ignorant of this custom, showed her fright, her sister wondered at her ignorance, and laughed at her. When her father noticed she was disturbed and asked the cause, she confessed that the reason of her grief was that she had been married to a plebeian, and lived in a house which neither honor nor courtesy could enter. Thereupon Ambustus, consoling his daughter, bade her keep up her spirits, and promised that she should soon see the same respect paid at her house, as she had seen at her sister's. Then he began to confer with his son-in-law, who, as soon as he entered upon his duties as tribune of the people, brought forward a law that the second consul should be chosen from the plebeians. The law was carried although the patricians fought against it, and Licinius Stolo was the first consul chosen from the plebeians.

TITUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Titus Manlius was sent away to the country by his father owing to his slowness of mind and speech. When he heard that his father had been called to trial for this by Pomponius, the tribune of the people, he conceived a plan which showed, indeed, the roughness and boorishness of his nature, but was commendable as a proof of his filial spirit. Armed with a knife, he proceeded to the city, and from the gate went straight to Pomponius' house, early in the morning. Having gained admittance, he drew his knife, and standing above Pomponius' bed threatened to stab him if he did not withdraw the indictment which he had brought against his father. The tribune, in his fright at seeing

the steel gleaming before his eyes, waived the accusation. This act was a greater credit to the young man as an evidence that his father's harshness had not turned his mind from the duty of a son, and so in that same year he was made tribune of the people.

When later the Gauls had pitched their camp near the third milestone on the other side of the river Anio, the Roman army left the city and took up its position on the nearer bank of the river. Between them was a bridge. Then a Gaul of huge stature came out on the empty bridge, and cried out as loudly as he could: "Let the bravest man whom Rome can produce come forward now, that the result of a contest between us may show which people is superior in war." For some time there was silence among the foremost of the Roman youth. Then Titus Manlius, leaving the outpost, went to the commander and said : "Without your permission, general, I would never fight out of rank even if I saw that victory was sure ; but if you permit it, I should like to show that beast that I am descended from the family which hurled the line of Gauls down from the Tarpeian rock." The general replied: "All success to you, Titus Manlius, go on and prove the Roman name unconquered."

Then his young companions armed the youth ; he took his shield, and girded on a Spanish sword suitable for a hand to hand contest. The Gaul was waiting for him in foolish exultation, and kept thrusting out his tongue in derision. When they had taken their places between the two armies, the Gaul struck his sword with a great noise against Manlius' armor. But Manlius insinuating his weapon in under the Gaul's armor, with a couple of blows stabbed him in the body, and stretched his falling enemy over a great distance. Then he snatched away his necklace from him as he lay

there, and put it, all spattered with blood, around his own neck. Fear mingled with admiration had kept the Gauls rooted to the ground. The Romans eagerly rushed up to their fellow-soldier, and with congratulations and compliments, escorted him to the general. Hence, Manlius received the surname Torquatus.

The same Manlius, made consul in the Latin war (340 B. C.), to restore discipline in the army, issued an edict to the effect that no soldier should fight against the enemy out of rank. When Titus Manlius, the consul's son, had happened to come within a short distance of the enemy's post, the officer who was in command of the Latin cavalry recognized him as the son of the consul, and called out, "Don't you want to try an encounter with me, so that the result of single combat may show how much a Latin knight is superior to a Roman?" Either anger, or shame at refusing the contest, stirred the fierce heart of the young man. And so, forgetful of his father's command, he rushed into the combat, threw the Latin from his horse, stabbed him to death, and collecting the spoils, returned into camp to his father. The consul immediately turned away in displeasure from his son and called the soldiers together with a blast of the trumpet. When they had assembled in great numbers, he said, "Since you, my son, have fought contrary to the command of the consul, you must restore by your punishment the discipline which you have infringed. You will be a sad example, but one salutary for young men in time to come. Go, lictor, bind him to the stake." All were stupified with fright, but when his neck was cut off, and the blood gushed forth, they broke into wailing and lamentation. When Manlius returned to Rome, only the older men went out to meet

him; the young men execrated him at that time and all the rest of his life.

It will be worth while to instance another example of the strictness of Roman discipline, that one may see at the same time, how easily strictness degenerates into cruelty and brutality. Gneius Piso was a man free from many vices, but perverse, and one who preferred severity to firmness. When he, in a fit of anger, had given orders to have a soldier executed on the ground that he had killed a fellow-soldier with whom he had gone out from camp, and without whom he had returned, though the man begged for time to find his companion, he would not grant it. The condemned soldier was led outside the rampart of the camp, and was already laying his head upon the block when the man who was supposed to have been killed appeared. Then the centurion in charge of the execution bade the executioner put up his sword. Both soldiers embraced each other and were brought to Piso amid a great throng of soldiers and loud rejoicing. Piso ascended the tribunal in a rage and gave orders for both to be executed, and the centurion also who had brought the condemned soldier back, prefacing his commands with these words: "I order you to be punished with death because you have been already condemned; and you, because you were the cause of your fellow-soldier's condemnation; and you, because when ordered to kill the soldier, you did not obey your general."

But that this harshness toward their sons which we have noticed was, as it were, innate in the Manlian family, another Manlius, a grandson of the one we have mentioned above, shows. When envoys of the Macedonians had come to Rome to complain of Silanus, the son of Manlius Torquatus, on the ground that as praetor he had robbed the province, his father, heir of

the ancestral harshness, asked the senate not to pass any judgment on the matter until he had himself investigated the case of the Macedonians and of his son. This the senators readily granted to a man of such high standing, of consular rank, and eminent in civil law. Therefore, the examination of the case having been held at his house, he heard in person each side for two whole days, and on the third day stated that his son, in his opinion, had not comported himself in the province as his ancestors had, and he forbade him in future to come into his sight. Prostrated by the severity of his father's sentence, Silanus could not bear to live another day, and the same night put an end to his life by hanging. Torquatus had fulfilled the part of a strict and upright judge; he had given satisfaction to the state, and redressed the wrongs of Macedonia; but not yet was the father's severity softened, consequently he did not take part even in the obsequies of his son, as was the custom for fathers among the Romans, and on the very day on which the funeral took place, he gave ear, as he was wont, to those wishing to consult him on matters of law.

VALERIUS CORVINUS. (343 B. C.)

When, in the Gallic war, the Romans on picket duty were spending their time in inaction, a Gaul, conspicuous by his size and armor, stepped forward, and when he had procured silence by beating his shield with his spear, called out one of the Romans, through an interpreter, to single combat with him. There was a certain Marcus Valerius, a tribune of the soldiers, and he, having first asked the consul's permission, armed himself and went forward. Then a

wonderful event is said to have taken place before their eyes, for when they were joining in battle, a crow suddenly perched upon the helmet of the Roman, facing toward the enemy. And not only did the bird keep the perch once taken, but as often as the contest was renewed, raising himself on his wings, he attacked the face and eyes of the Gaul with his beak and claws until Valerius killed his enemy frightened at the sight of such a prodigy, and disturbed in sight and mind. The crow, flying east, disappeared from sight. From this circumstance, Valerius was called Corvinus.

Valerius Corvinus being appointed consul at twenty-three years of age, routed the Samnites twice in battle. At no other time did a general show himself more friendly to his soldiers, by performing willingly all duties, even those of the lowest of the soldiers. Moreover, in the soldiers' sports, when the other young men competed with each other in contests of speed and strength, Valerius took part with them and never refused to meet any equal antagonist who might offer himself. He was always courteous, and never changed countenance, whether he beat or was beaten. Once when a serious insurrection had arisen in the army, and a part of the soldiers had withdrawn from the others, Valerius was sent to them as dictator. When he came in sight, having addressed the soldiers kindly, he immediately calmed their anger and quelled the revolt. To such an extent can courtesy, and affability of speech gain the hearts of men.

PUBLIUS DECIUS. (343 B. C.)

Publius Decius was tribune of the people in the consulship of Valerius Maximus and Cornelius Cossus. When the Roman army was shut up in the defiles of

Mount Gaurus, Decius noticed a high hill commanding the enemy's camp. Taking a small body of men, he occupied the summit, frightened the enemy and gave the consul time to lead his line down to a more level place. He himself, though the hill upon which he had taken his position was surrounded on all sides by armed men, escaped unharmed at dead of night through the midst of the enemy's pickets, who were buried in sleep. For this he was presented by the army with the civic crown which used to be given to such as had saved their fellow-citizens in war. He was consul in the Latin war with Manlius Torquatus. When it had been revealed to the two consuls in a dream that those would be victorious in this war whose leader should fall in battle, it was agreed between them that the one whose wing showed signs of weakness in the battle should devote himself to the spirits of the dead. When Decius' side wavered, he devoted himself and the enemy to the Manes. Clad in his armor, he leaped on his horse and threw himself into the midst of the enemy ; he fell overwhelmed by darts and left the victory to his countrymen.

SPURIUS POSTUMIUS.

The Romans now took up war against the Samnites, being called by the Campanians to their assistance. The country of Campania is the most beautiful not only of all the countries of Italy, but of the whole world. Nothing is softer than the sky there, nothing more fertile than the soil : twice a year it blossoms with flowers. And so it is said to be the place of contest between Liber and Ceres. Nothing is more hospitable than the sea there. Here are those noble harbors of Caïeta and

Misenum, and Baiae with its hot springs, and Lake Avernus; here, clad in vines, are Mounts Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus, and Vesuvius most beautiful of all, imitator of the fire of Etna: here on the coast are the cities Formiae, Cumae, Puteoli, Naples, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Capua herself, the queen of cities, once numbered with Rome and Carthage among the three greatest. In behalf of this city, in behalf of this region, the Roman people invaded the country of the Samnites. For almost fifty years they fought with the Samnites and often came into the greatest danger.

When Spurius Postumius, the consul, was waging war against the Samnites (321 B. C.), he was led into an ambuscade by Gaius Pontius, the leader of the enemy. For the latter sent pretended deserters to tell the Romans that Luceria, a city of Apulia, was being besieged by the Samnites. There was no doubt that the Romans would bear aid to the Lucerians, their good and faithful allies. Two roads led to Luceria, one longer and safer, the other shorter and more dangerous; haste chose the shorter. Therefore when they had come to the ambascade, a place which was called the Caudine Forks, and the enemy's stratagem had become evident, they retraced the road by which they had come, and found this too blocked by a detachment of the enemy. They accordingly halted, and since all hope of escape had been taken away, stood motionless looking at each other for a long time in silence. Finally they broke out into complaints against their leaders by whose rashness they had been led into this place. Thus they passed the night unmindful of food as well as of sleep.

Nor did the Samnites themselves know what they ought to do in so fortunate an occurrence. Pontius

called his father Herennius, and asked him what he thought should be done. When he heard that the Roman army was shut in between two forests, he said that either all ought to be killed, so that their strength might be broken, or all be sent away unharmed that they might be put under obligations by the kindness. Neither suggestion was adopted. Meantime the Romans, constrained by necessity, sent envoys to sue for peace: peace was granted on these terms, that all should pass under the yoke. Therefore their cloaks were taken from the consuls, and they were the first to be sent under the yoke, then the legions one by one. The enemy stood by, armed, reproaching them and jeering at them. To the Romans coming out of the forest, the light itself was sadder than any death, and when they arrived at Capua, shame drove them to avoid conversation and intercourse with men. Entering Rome late at night, each hid himself in his own house.

When the senate was deliberating upon the Caudine peace, Postumius, bidden to give his opinion, said: "The Roman people are not held by the base promise by which I bound myself, since it was made without their consent: nor is anything due the Samnites in consequence of it except my person. Give me up to them naked and bound: let them vent their rage on me alone: I will free the people from the obligation of their oath." The senate admiring this magnanimity, commended Postumius and followed his suggestion. Postumius therefore was given up to heralds who were to take him to the Samnites. His clothing was stripped from him, his hands were tied behind his back, and when the attendant bound Postumius loosely out of respect for the dignity of his appearance, Postu-

mius himself said: "Why do you not tighten the cord that the surrender may be complete?"

Then, after the surrender had been made, when Postumius came into the assembly of the Samnites, he struck the thigh of one of the heralds with his knee with as much force as he could, and in a loud voice said that he was a Samnite citizen, and that the herald who was acting as embassador had been outraged by him against the law of nations; that for this reason war might more justly be declared against the Samnites. This surrender was not accepted by the Samnites, and Postumius returned unharmed to the Roman camp.

LUCIUS PAPIRIUS CURSOR. (320 B. C.)

Since Lucius Papirius, the dictator, had set out against the Samnites when the omens were unfavorable, he returned to Rome to take the auspices again, but before he went he gave orders to Quintus Fabius, his master of the house, to maintain his position and not to engage with the enemy while he was away. After the dictator's departure, Fabius, induced by an opportunity of accomplishing the thing successfully, joined in battle with the Samnites, and the affair could not have been conducted better if the dictator had been present. The soldiers did not fail their leader, nor the leader the soldiers. Twenty thousand of the enemy were yielded up slain on that day. Not long after, the dictator arrived, full of threats and rage. Having immediately called a meeting, he gave orders to have the master stripped and the rods and axes brought. When Fabius began to implore the protection of the soldiers, an uproar arose in the whole meeting; here prayers,

there threats were heard. And so the matter was deferred until the next day.

By night, the master of the horse fled secretly from the camp to Rome, and the dictator himself followed him. After the senate had been called, the matter under dispute was set forth: Papirius gave orders to have Fabius seized. Then Fabius' father, who had already been consul three times and dictator, appealed to the people. The Roman people, moved by his prayers and entreaties, begged the dictator to remit for their sake the punishment of the master of the house. The tribunes also begged him to pardon Fabius on account of his youth: they said that he had paid penalty enough. The young man himself and his father began to fall on their knees, and deprecate the anger of the dictator. Papirius yielded to so many prayers; but he declared that he did not desist from the punishment for Fabius' sake, but for that of the Roman people, and on account of the power of the tribunes.

Papirius was a man not only of vigorous mind, but also excelling in physical strength. He had extraordinary swiftness of foot, which gave him his surname. He was likewise courteous and fond of a joke. A praetor of Praeneste, owing to timidity, had led out his men rather slowly from the reserved body to the front rank. When Papirius, pacing before his tent, had given orders to have him called, he ordered a lictor to bring his ax, and when he saw the praetor stupefied at the fear of death, he said: "Quick, lictor, cut out this root, which is an inconvenience to passers by." Then he dismissed the praetor most courteously.

An army of the Gauls, at that time making common cause with the Samnites, had made an invasion into the territory of the people of Sentinum. That same

Quintus Fabius of whom we have before spoken, went to meet it. When the lines of battle were standing drawn up, a doe, driven out of the mountains, fleeing from a wolf, ran down through the fields between the two lines, and when the wild creatures had come there, the doe bent her course to the Gauls, the wolf to the Romans. To the wolf a path was given through the ranks, but the Gauls pierced the doe. Then a Roman soldier, whose place in battle was before the standard, said : "Flight and slaughter turn that way, where you see that creature, sacred to Diana, lying : on this side the wolf of Mars victorious, whole and untouched, reminds us of our descent from Mars and of the founder of our race." Thereupon, the battle being begun, the Gauls and Samnites suffered a very severe defeat.

PUBLIUS VALERIUS LAEVINUS AND PYRRHUS, KING OF EPIRUS. (281 B. C.)

War was declared against the people of Tarentum on the ground that they had done some harm to the envoys of the Romans. These asked the aid against the Romans of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, who traced his descent from the family of Achilles. A little later he came to Italy, and then, for the first time, the Romans fought with an enemy from across the sea. The consul Publius Valerius Laevinus was sent against him, and when he had seized Pyrrhus' spies, he gave orders to have them conducted through the camp and shown the whole army, and then dismissed, so that they might report to Pyrrhus all that was being done by the Romans. A battle being soon fought, when Pyrrhus' army was already giving away, the king gave orders to have the elephants led against the Roman line : and then the fortune of the fight was changed.

The size of their huge bodies and the terrible sight of armed men standing upon them, threw the Romans into confusion. The horses, too, frightened by the appearance and the smell of the animals, either threw their riders or dragged them away with them in flight. Night put an end to the battle.

Pyrrhus treated the Roman captives with the greatest honor: he buried the dead. When he saw them lying with their wounds in front and with faces fierce even in death, he is said to have raised his hands to heaven with these words: that he could have been lord of the whole world, if such soldiers had fallen to his lot. To his friends, when they congratulated him, he said, "What advantage is such a victory to me, when I lose the flower of my army. If I conquer a second time, I shall return to Epirus without a soldier." Finally he hastened toward the city of Rome by forced marches: he laid everything waste with fire and sword and placed his camp at the twentieth milestone from the city. Laevinus came to meet Pyrrhus with a fresh army. When he saw him, the king said that he had the same fortune against the Romans as Hercules against the hydra, on which as many heads grew out as had been cut off: then he withdrew to Campania. He received the envoys sent by the senate about ransoming the captives honorably, and gave back the captives without pay, so that the Romans, who already knew his bravery, might also learn his generosity.

Pyrrhus was of a mild and placable disposition: for clemency is usually the associate of a great soul. Of his humanity the people of Tarentum had a proof. When they had found out too late that they had received a master instead of an ally, they lamented their fate, and that somewhat too freely, when they had become heated with wine. There were plenty to carry

the tale to Pyrrhus, and some of the citizens were summoned to appear, on the ground that they had spoken at a banquet disrespectfully of the king ; but a frank confession of guilt put an end to their danger. For when the king inquired whether they had said the things which had come to his ears, they replied: "These things we said, O king, and if the wine had not given out, we should have gone on to say many worse things." Pyrrhus, who preferred to have it seem the fault of the wine rather than of the men, smiling, dismissed them.

As Pyrrhus thought that it would redound to his glory to make peace and an alliance with the Romans after his victory, he sent Cineas as an envoy to Rome to propose peace on fair terms. The latter was an intimate friend of the king and had much influence with him. Pyrrhus used to say that he had taken more cities through Cineas' eloquence than by force of arms. And yet Cineas did not servilely assent to the king's wishes, for when, in conversation, Pyrrhus had disclosed his plans to him and had said that he wished to bring Italy under his sway, Cineas said: "When the Romans have been conquered, what do you propose to do, O king?" "Sicily is near Italy," said Pyrrhus, "and there will be no difficulty in taking it by force of arms." "Then," continued Cineas, "when Sicily is taken, what are you going to do next?" The king, who did not yet see Cineas' purpose, said: "It is my intention to cross over into Africa." The latter still continued, "What next, king?" "Then, my dear Cineas," said Pyrrhus, "I shall at last give myself some leisure and enjoy sweet peace. Then Cineas said, "But what prevents you from enjoying that peace you talk of now, at once."

When Cineas had come to Rome, he went around

from the house of one leading man to another, with very costly gifts. But he nowhere met with a favorable reception. His gifts were scorned not only by the men, but by the women. Finally when having been introduced into the senate-house, he was extolling in a speech the king's virtue, and his friendly feeling toward the Romans and was speaking of the fairness of his terms, and when the opinion of the senate seemed to be inclining toward making peace and an alliance, Appius Claudius, who used long since to stay away from the senate-house on account of old age and blindness, gave orders to have himself carried in a litter, as quickly as possible, into the senate, and there, in a very eloquent speech, advised against peace. The result was that the senate replied to Pyrrhus that he could not have peace with the Romans until he had withdrawn from Italy. Moreover, the Romans gave orders that all the captives whom Pyrrhus had returned should be considered infamous, because, though armed, they had allowed themselves to be taken prisoners, and that they should not be restored to their former standing until they had brought back the spoils of two enemies apiece. So the envoy returned to the king, and when Pyrrhus asked him what his impression of Rome had been, Cineas replied that the city seemed to him a temple, and the senate, in very truth, an assembly of kings.

GAIUS FABRICIUS.

Among the envoys who had come to Pyrrhus about ransoming the prisoners was Gaius Fabricius. After Pyrrhus heard that his name was famous among the Romans as that of a good man and one renowned in

war, but very poor, he treated him especially kindly and generously, and offered him presents and money, all of which Fabricius refused. On the next day, as Pyrrhus wanted to frighten him by the unexpected sight of an elephant, he gave orders to his servants that while Fabricius was talking with him the animal should be brought up behind a curtain. When this had been done, and on a given signal the curtain had been drawn, the animal made a horrible trumpeting and put his proboscis down over Fabricius' head. But he said with a smile, "Yesterday your gold did not entice me, and to-day this creature does not frighten me."

Pyrrhus, admiring Fabricius' courage, secretly tried to induce him to leave his country and consent to live with him, promising him even a fourth part of his kingdom, but Fabricius answered him as follows: "If you consider me a good man, why do you want to corrupt me? but if a bad one, why do you try to win me over?" After a year had elapsed and all hope of bringing about a peace between Pyrrhus and the Romans had been given up, Fabricius was made consul and sent against him. And since he and the king had camps near each other, the king's physician came to Fabricius by night, and promised him that he would poison Pyrrhus, if he would offer him a reward. Fabricius gave orders to have him bound and taken back to Pyrrhus, and to have Pyrrhus told what the physician had pledged against his life. Then the king admiring him is reported to have said: "That man is Fabricius whom it is more difficult to turn from honor than the sun from his course."

When Fabricius was an envoy at the court of king Pyrrhus, he heard Cineas telling that there was a certain man at Athens who professed himself a philoso-

pher, and that he said that everything that we do must be measured by the standard of pleasure. Then they say that Fabricius cried out, "Would that our enemies may be persuaded of this, so that they can be more easily conquered when they have given themselves up to pleasure!" Nothing was more foreign to his life than pleasure and luxury. All his plate consisted of one salt-cellar, and a small dish for use in performing sacred rites, which was supported on a little foot of horn. He was dining at his hearthstone on roots and herbs, when envoys from the Samnites came to him and offered him a large sum of money. He made them the following reply: "As long as I am able to regulate my wants, I shall lack nothing: but do you carry back the money to those who need it."

Gaius Fabricius was on terms of enmity with Rufinus, a man of noble family, owing to the dissimilarity of their characters, since he himself was a despiser of money, while the latter was thought avaricious and thievish. Because Rufinus was, however, active and a good general, and a great and serious war seemed to be impending, Fabricius used his influence to have Rufinus elected consul, and when finally the latter expressed his thanks to Fabricius, that he, though a personal enemy, had made him consul, Fabricius replied that it was not surprising that he preferred to be robbed rather than sold. Afterwards, Fabricius, who had been made censor, removed this same Rufinus from the senate because he had ten pounds of silver plate. Fabricius spent his whole life in honorable poverty, and died so poor that he did not leave the means of furnishing a dowry for his daughters. The senate took upon itself the part of a father and established the daughters in marriage with dowries given from the treasury.

When Pyrrhus perceived that he was making small headway against the Romans, he determined to bring Sicily under his sway. When, returning thence, he was sailing past Locri in his fleet, he robbed the treasure chambers of the temple of Proserpine untouched to that day, and having thus loaded his ships with the riches, himself proceeded by land. What happened as a result? The fleet, on the next day, was wrecked by a frightful hurricane, and all the ships which held the sacred property were cast up on the shore of Locri. Taught, at last, by this great disaster, that there were gods, the haughtiest of kings gave orders to have all the property collected and carried back to the temple of Proserpine. Still, no good fortune ever happened to him, and driven from Italy, he died by an ignoble death when he had entered Argos rashly by night.

MANIUS CURIUS.

Manius Curius made an expedition against the Samnites and conquered them in decisive battles. When in this war he had taken a great extent of territory and a very great number of men, he was so unwilling to enrich himself therefrom, that when he was accused of embezzling the money, he brought out a wooden plate into their midst, which he was accustomed to use in offering sacrifices, and swore that he had carried to his home nothing more of the booty taken from the enemy. When the Samnites had brought a mass of gold to Curius, who was sitting by his hearth on a rustic bench, and eating from a wooden plate, they were scorned by him, and he said that it was not the having gold that seemed to him glorious, but the

ruling over those who had it. By this reply Curius showed the Samnites that he could not be conquered in battle nor corrupted by money. He distributed seven acres of the captured territory to citizens individually, and when the senate assigned fifty acres to him, he was not willing to receive more than had been given to each citizen, and said that that citizen was dangerous who was not contented with what was being assigned to the rest.

He was afterwards made consul, and sent against Pyrrhus, and when he was holding a levy in the Capitol, and the younger men, owing to their weariness of war, did not give in their names, throwing the names of all the tribes into the urn, he gave orders to have the first name taken from the urn announced. When the young man made no reply, he sold his property at public auction; and then, when the latter had appealed to the tribunes of the people, complaining of the wrong done him, he sold the man himself, saying that the state had no need of a citizen who did not know how to obey. Nor were the tribunes of the people able to help the young man ; and later it became the regular custom that whoever, when a levy was duly held, refused to serve, should be sold into slavery. The rest, influenced by dread of this act, gave in their names more promptly.

With these troops Curius cut to pieces the army of Pyrrhus and celebrated a triumph over this king. This triumph was made notable by the presence of four elephants with their towers, then seen at Rome for the first time. The conquered king, leaving a garrison at Tarentum, returned to Epirus. But since it was thought that he was about to renew the war, the people voted to make Curius consul a second time. However,

the king's unexpected death freed the Romans from their alarm. For while Pyrrhus was besieging Argos and when he had already entered the city, he was slightly wounded by a young man with an Argive spear. The mother of the youth, a poor old woman, was looking at the battle with other women from the roof of a house, and when she saw Pyrrhus rushing with great fury against the inflicter of his wound, alarmed at her son's danger, she quickly seized a tile, poised it with both hands, and hurled it down upon the king's head.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CAUDEX. (263 B. C.)

In the consulship of Appius Claudius war was begun against the Carthaginians. When the Carthaginians and Hiero, King of Syracuse, were besieging Messana, a city of Sicily, Appius Claudius was sent to liberate Messana. The cousul, first, to reconnoiter the enemy, crossed in a fishing boat the strait which lies between Italy and Sicily. To him came messengers from Hanno, the leader of the Carthaginians. exhorting him to preserve peace. But when the consul would not accept any terms unless the Carthaginians would desist from the siege, Hanno exclaimed in anger that he would not allow the Romans even to wash their hands in the Sicilian sea. Still he could not prevent Claudius from bringing over a legion to Sicily in a quinquereme captured by the infantry, and driving out the Carthaginians from Messana. Next, Hiero was conquered at Syracuse; terrified at his peril, he sought friendship from the Romans, and thereafter remained faithfully in alliance with them.

GAIUS DUILIUS. (260 B. C.)

Gaius Duilius was the first to conquer the Carthaginians in a naval battle. As he saw that the Roman ships were surpassed in speed by those of the Carthaginians, he invented iron hooks or grappling irons, a contrivance useful for catching and holding the enemy's ships. When these hooks had laid hold of an adversary's ship, the Romans climbed over on a bridge which had been thrown across, and fought at close range on their vessels, and as a consequence victory was easy for the Romans, who excelled in strength. Thirty ships of the Carthaginians were quickly captured, and among them the septireme of the commander was taken, too, and thirteen were sunk.

Duilius, returning victorious to Rome, was the first to celebrate a triumph on account of a successful naval battle. No victory was more gratifying to the Romans, because, unconquered on land, they were now supreme on the sea. Therefore Duilius was allowed for his whole life to return from dinner with a torch lighting the way before him, and a flute-player going on in front, playing.

Hannibal, the leader of the Carthaginian fleet, jumped down from his ship after it had been captured, into a small boat, and escaped from the hands of the Romans. Fearing however that he would be punished in his own country for losing the fleet, he turned aside the aversion of his fellow citizens by his cleverness ; for before the news of the disaster arising from that unfortunate battle reached home, he sent one of his friends to Carthage, who, after he had entered the senate house, said : " Hannibal wants your advice as to whether he ought to fight with the leader of the Romans now that he has come with such great and well equipped naval

forces." The senate exclaimed unanimously that there was no doubt that he ought to fight. Then the friend replied: "He has fought and has been conquered." Thus they could not condemn the action, because they had themselves judged that it ought to be done. Hannibal, therefore, though conquered, escaped the cross; for, among the Carthaginians, a general, if unsuccessful, was punished in that way.

THE CONSUL, AULUS ATILIUS CALATINUS, AND THE TRIBUNE OF THE SOLDIERS, CALPURNIUS FLAMMA. (258 B.C.)

The consul, Atilius Calatinus, with a few ships conquered a great fleet of the Carthaginians; but later, in Sicily, when he had rashly led his army into a low, unfavorable place, he was surrounded by the enemy. At this crisis the remarkable valor of Calpurnius, the tribune of the soldiers, saved the Romans, for he went to the consul and said: "I advise you to give orders for four hundred soldiers to go to that cliff over there rising abruptly from the midst of the enemy, and take it. As soon as the enemy see this, they will make haste to attack our soldiers, and all the four hundred will, without a doubt, be cut to pieces; but you, while the enemy are engaged in this slaughter, will have time to extricate the army. There is no other road to safety but this." The consul replied to the tribune that this plan seemed to him capable of execution and far-sighted; "but," said he, "whom can you find to lead those four hundred soldiers you talk about to this place against the wedge-shaped ranks of the enemy?" "If you can't find anybody else," replied Calpurnius, "you can command me for this perilous duty. I give this life of mine to you and to the state."

The consul thanked the tribune, and the tribune set out with his four hundred into the jaws of death. After telling them where he was leading them, and for what purpose, he said : "Let us die, fellow soldiers, and by our death extricate the legions which are now surrounded by the enemy from this blockade." They all followed him, not with any hope of escaping alive, but kindled by love of glory. The enemy were amazed at their audacity ; but when it appeared that they were directing their course to take the cliff that has been mentioned, they turned their arms against them. The Romans were surrounded, and when surrounded defended themselves : a battle took place, doubtful for a long time, but at last numbers prevailed. Then all the four hundred fell in a body, pierced with swords or overwhelmed by darts. The consul meantime, while this battle was taking place, withdrew his forces to a high place, where they were safe.

The immortal gods granted the tribune a fate suited to his valor, for it so happened that though he had been wounded many times, still he did not receive a fatal wound. He was found among the dead, pierced with many wounds, but still breathing ; he recovered, and always afterwards gave active assistance to the state. As a reward of his glorious deed a wreath of grass was given him, than which no crown was considered more honorable as a reward for bravery in war, and which used to be bestowed by the whole army which had been saved. So Atilius enjoyed a glorious triumph.

MARCUS ATILIUS REGULUS. (256 B. C.)

When Marcus Atilius Regulus had inflicted a severe defeat upon the Carthaginians, Hanno, the Carthaginian,

came to him, ostensibly to treat for peace, but really to gain time until fresh troops should come from Africa. When he came to the consul a clamor arose among the soldiers, and the sentiment was expressed that the same thing ought to be done to him which had been done by the Carthaginians a few years before to Cornelius, the consul. For Cornelius, when he had been treacherously summoned as if to a conference, had been seized by the Carthaginians and cast into chains. Hanno was already beginning to fear for his safety, but he averted the danger by a shrewd reply. "Truly, if you do this," he said, "You will be no better than the Africans." The consul gave orders for those who wished to return like for like to be silent, and made a reply consistent with Roman dignity. "Roman faith will free you, Hanno, from that fear which you express." No agreement was reached about peace, both because the Carthaginian was not treating for it seriously, and because the consul preferred conquest to peace.

Regulus after that was the first Roman general to cross into Africa. He took the city of Clypea by storm and hundreds of fortified places, and fought not only with men but with monsters; for when he pitched his camp at the river Bagrada a serpent of enormous size kept disturbing the Roman army. It seized many soldiers in its huge mouth, crushed many with blows from its tail, and killed some by the mere exhalation of its pestilential breath. Nor could it be pierced by a thrust of the spear, because the very strong cuirass of its scales warded off all weapons. They had recourse to engines of war, and machines for throwing stones and missiles having been brought up to it, the enemy had to be destroyed just like a fortified citadel. Finally it fell, overwhelmed by a mass of stones, but a stream of

its blood and the noxious effluvia of its body infected the neighboring locality and forced the Romans to move their camp from that place. Regulus sent the skin of the creature, one hundred and twenty feet in length, to Rome.

On account of these successes his command was prolonged over the next year. When Regulus learned this, he wrote to the senate that his overseer, on a small estate of seven acres that he had, was dead, and that a slave seizing the opportunity had run away carrying off his farming implements, and for this reason he asked to have a successor to him sent to Africa for fear that since his farm was abandoned the means would be lacking for the support of his wife and children. When the letter was received, the senate gave orders to have the property which Regulus had lost, replaced from the public treasury, made a contract for working the farm, and furnished support for his wife and children. Regulus afterwards destroyed the resources of the Carthaginians in many battles and forced them to sue for peace. When Regulus was not willing to grant this except on very hard terms, they sought aid from the Lacedaemonians.

The Lacedaemonians sent Xanthippus a man of very high reputation in war, by whom Regulus was conquered with awful slaughter; for only two thousand men out of the whole Roman army escaped, and Regulus himself was taken prisoner and cast into prison. From there he was sent to Rome to see about exchanging prisoners, having given his oath that he would himself return to Carthage if he did not gain his object. When he had come to Rome, he was brought into the senate and explained his instructions; he refused to express his opinion saying that as long as he was bound by an oath given to the enemy, he was

not a senator. When, however, he was commanded to give his vote, he said that it was not expedient to return the Carthaginian prisoners, for they were young men and good commanders, whereas he was already exhausted by age. As his influence prevailed, the prisoners were retained, but he, though he was restrained by relatives and friends, nevertheless, returned to Carthage, He was not indeed ignorant of the fact that he was going to the most cruel of enemies and to exquisite torture, but he thought that he ought to keep his oath. On his return, the Carthaginians put him to death with every form of torture; for having cut off his eyelids, they kept him in a dark place for a long time, and then when the sun was very bright suddenly took him out and forced him to look at the sky. Finally, they shut him up in a wooden box bristling all over with pointed nails, and so narrow that he was forced to stand constantly erect. So while his weary body was pierced with iron points wherever he leaned, he finally died from sleeplessness and constant pain. Such was the death of Atilius Regulus, even more honorable and illustrious than his life.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER. (249 B. C.)

When Appius Claudius, a man of foolish rashness, had set out as consul against the Carthaginians, he openly found fault with the measures of former leaders, and boasted that he would bring the war to a close on the day when he saw the enemy. When he was taking the auspices before beginning a naval battle, and the keeper of the sacred chickens had reported to him that the chickens did not come out of their coop and eat, he laughingly gave orders to have them

plunged in water, so that they might at least drink if they did not want to eat. When this circumstance had made the soldiers in general less ready and more timid, a battle was fought, and the Romans suffered a terrible defeat: eight thousand of them were slain, and twenty thousand made prisoners. Owing to this, Claudius was afterward condemned to death by the people, but he anticipated the ignominy of condemnation by suicide. This circumstance was also the cause of misfortune to Claudia, the consul's sister, for when she was on her way home from the public games, and her carriage was proceeding with difficulty in the midst of the dense throng of people, she openly wished that her brother Pulcher could be resurrected and lose a fleet a second time, so that there would be less crowd at Rome. For such a flippant sentiment Claudia was convicted, too, and a heavy fine was imposed upon her.

GAIUS LUTATIUS CATULUS. (241 B. C.)

The consul, Gaius Lutatius Catulus, put an end to the first Punic war. Having crossed with a fleet of three hundred ships to Sicily, while he was attacking Drepanum, and fighting boldly among the foremost, he received a severe wound in his thigh. He had not yet recovered when a very large fleet of the Carthaginians was reported to be near. There were four hundred ships laden with provisions, which they were bringing to the land army, besides large forces of soldiers and a very great amount of arms and money. Hanno, a Carthaginian of noble family, had the chief command, and was using his utmost endeavors to unload the freight from his ships, fill them with capable men taken from

Hamilcar, and so finally come to action with the Roman fleet. But Lutatius, to prevent the designs of the Carthaginians, and fight rather against a fleet weighted down and impeded by its own freight, directed his course to the Ægates Islands and attacked the enemy's fleet. The victory was not deferred long, for in a very short time all the Carthaginian ships were either taken or sunk. The booty was enormous. The Carthaginians were conquered and sued for peace, which was granted them on these terms: that they should withdraw from all the islands which lie between Italy and Africa, and pay a stated tax to the Roman people for twenty years.

QUINTUS FABIUS MAXIMUS.

Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, when only nine years old, was brought by his father to the altar and made to swear eternal hatred against the Romans. This circumstance seems to have been the chief cause of the second Punic war, for after the death of Hamilcar, Hannibal, looking for some pretext for war, overturned Saguntum, a town of Spain, which had a treaty with the Romans. As a result, envoys were sent to Carthage from Rome to demand the surrender of Hannibal, the author of the injury. When the Carthaginians refused, Quintus Fabius, the foremost man in the embassy, making a fold in his toga, said, "Here we bring you peace and war; take whichever you please." When the Carthaginians shouted out "war," Fabius shook out his toga and said he gave them war. The Carthaginians replied that they accepted it, and would prosecute it in the same spirit as they received it.

Hannibal passed over the summits of the Pyrenees and Alps, and came into Italy. He overthrew Publius Scipio at the river Ticinus, Sempronius at the Trebia, and Flaminius at Lake Trasimenus. Quintus Maximus, having been appointed dictator and sent against the enemy already so often victorious, checked Hannibal's victorious progress by a policy of delay; for, taught by the defeats of previous generals, he determined to change the policy of the war, and since he was facing Hannibal, now insolent owing to his success in former battles, to avoid any hazardous risk, and merely defend Italy. He thereby acquired the name "Cunctator," and the reputation of a very great general. He led his line through high places at a moderate distance from the enemy, so as neither to lose sight of him nor join battle with him; and he kept his soldiers in camp except so far as necessity forced him to lead them out. Their general neglected no opportunity for a successful encounter if any was given by the enemy; but he did not give any to the enemy himself. And so, since he came off superior in slight engagements, his soldiers began to feel less apprehension of their courage and fortune.

When Fabius, by these devices, had shut Hannibal up among narrow defiles in the district around Falernum, the latter extricated himself without any harm to his army. For he gave orders to have bundles of dry fagots bound on the horns of cattle, and lighted early in the evening, and the cattle driven toward the hills on which the Romans had encamped. When they began to run with blazing horns hither and thither over the hills and through the woods, the Romans, astonished at the marvel, remained in their position. Fabius himself, thinking that it was a trap,

forbade the soldiers to leave the camp. In the meantime Hannibal escaped from the defile.

Finally, Hannibal, to make Fabius unpopular, left his estate unharmed, though all the land around was devastated. But Fabius, sending his son Quintus to Rome, sold the land unharmed by the enemy, and ransomed Roman prisoners with the proceeds of it.

Fabius' delay, however, did not please the Romans ; they began to call him timid instead of cautious, and inactive instead of delayer. His master of the horse, Minucius, increased this unpopularity by bringing a charge against the dictator : he said that he was purposely wasting time in the conduct of the war, so as to remain in office longer and have sole command at Rome and in the army. Prompted by these criticisms, the plebeians gave the master of the horse equal rank with the dictator. Fabius bore this insult patiently and divided his army with Minucius. Moreover, when Minucius had rashly engaged in battle, Fabius came to his rescue in his peril. Hannibal, checked by his sudden approach, sounded a retreat, and openly confessed that Minucius had been defeated by him, but he by Fabius. There is a report that he said when he came out of the battle that at last that cloud which had so long settled on the peaks of the mountains had brought wind and rain. But Minucius, after he was freed from this danger, joined his camp with that of Fabius, called him father, and bade his soldiers do the same.

Hannibal afterwards gained possession of Tarentum by treachery. About thirteen young Tarentines of good family conspired to deliver this city over to the Carthaginians. Going out of the city at night under the pretence of hunting, they came to Hannibal, who had his camp not far away. When they had explained

to him what they had in mind, Hannibal commended them, and advised them on their return to drive to the city the flocks of the Carthaginians which had been driven out to pasture, and to give them either to the prefect or the men on guard at the gates, as if they were booty captured from the foe. This was done by them again and again, and so customary did the proceeding become, that at whatever time of night they gave the signal by a whistle, the gate of the city would open. Then finally Hannibal followed them at dead of night with ten thousand picked men. When they approached the gate, the well-known voices of the young men and the familiar signal aroused the watchman. The first two carried in a boar of enormous size. While the watchman, off his guard, was admiring the size of the animal, he was killed with a hunting spear. The traitors entering, cut to pieces the other guards buried in sleep. Then Hannibal went in with his army; the Romans were butchered right and left. Livius Salinator, the prefect of the Romans, fled to the citadel with those who survived the slaughter.

Fabius, therefore, having set out to recover Tarentum, surrounded the city with a blockade. An insignificant circumstance aided him in accomplishing his important undertaking. The prefect of the garrison at Tarentum was desperately in love with a girl whose brother was in Fabius' army. The soldier, by Fabius' orders, went over to Tarentum in the character of a deserter, and through his sister, induced the prefect to deliver up the city. In the first watch, Fabius drew near to that part of the wall which the prefect was guarding, and the latter's soldiers aiding and receiving him, the Romans climbed over into the city. Then they broke down the nearest gate, and Fabius with his army entered. When Hannibal, hurrying to bring help

after the siege of Tarentum was reported, heard that the city was already taken, he said "The Romans, too, have a Hannibal of their own; we have lost Tarentum through the same skill by which we took it."

When, later, in Fabius' presence, Livius Salinator boasted that he had kept the citadel of Tarentum, and said that Fabius had recovered Tarentum by his aid, Fabius replied with a smile: "Certainly, for if you had not lost it, I never should have recovered it."

When Quintus Fabius was already an old man, he filled the office of lieutenant to his son who was consul, and when he was coming to his camp, the son came out to meet his father preceded by twelve lictors, as was the custom. The old man was riding a horse, and when the consul approached, he did not dismount. Eleven of the lictors had already passed in silence, out of respect for his dignity as a father. When the consul perceived this, he gave orders to the lictor nearest him to call out to Fabius to dismount. Then his father, jumping down, said, "I did not intend disrespect to your authority, my son, but I wanted to find out whether you knew that you were a consul." Fabius Maximus, who was worthy his distinguished surname, lived to extreme old age. He was accounted cautious rather than alert, but his innate caution was peculiarly adapted to such a war as was at that time being carried on. No one doubts that by delaying he saved the Roman state. As Scipio, by fighting, so he seems by refusing to fight to have especially aided the state. The one overthrew Carthage by his despatch; the other by his policy of delay accomplished this, that it should be impossible to overthrow Rome.

ÆMILIUS PAULUS AND TERENTIUS VARRO. (216 B.C.)

Hannibal had come into Apulia. The two consuls, Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro, set out from Rome against him. Fabius' policy of delay seemed wiser to Paulus; but Varro, who was a bold, imprudent man, took more vigorous measures. Both consuls fortified their camp near a town which was named Cannæ. There, finally, though opposed by his colleague, Varro drew up his line and gave the signal for battle; but Hannibal had so stationed his line that both the sun's rays and the east wind blowing dust in their faces, were against the Romans. The Roman army was conquered and slain; nowhere had the state suffered a severer blow. Æmilius Paulus fell overwhelmed by spears. When a certain tribune of the soldiers saw him in the middle of the battle sitting on a stone and covered with blood, he said: "Take this horse, Æmilius, and escape; even without your death there are enough tears and distress." To which the consul replied: "Heaven bless you! But take care lest you lose the short time you have for escaping from the enemy's hands. Go, tell the senators to fortify the city, and strengthen it with a garrison before the victorious enemy comes up. As for me, let me die in this massacre of my soldiers." The other consul fled with a few horsemen to Venusia. Twenty men of consular or pretorian rank fell, thirty senators were made prisoners or killed, three hundred nobles, forty thousand soldiers, and three thousand five hundred knights. As a proof of his victory Hannibal sent to Carthage three pecks of gold rings which he had taken off the hands of Roman knights and senators. When the

rest were congratulating Hannibal on his victory and urging him now, at least, to take a little rest himself, and give his tired soldiers some, one of the prefects named Maherbal, thinking that there ought to be no delay, pressed Hannibal to proceed at once to Rome, for he would surely dine on the fourth day as victor in the Capitol. When Hannibal did not approve this suggestion, he said: "Evidently the gods have not given everything to the same man. You know how to conquer, Hannibal, but you do not know how to use your victory." It is believed that the delay of this day was enough to save the city and the state. Though Hannibal could have used his victory, he preferred to enjoy it, and, abandoning Rome, turned aside into Campania, by the luxury of which the zeal of his army was soon relaxed to such an extent that it has been truly said that Capua was Hannibal's Cannæ.

Never was there such terror at Rome as when the news came of the defeat which had been sustained. But still there was no mention of peace; on the contrary, the people were so courageous that they went to meet Varro on his return from such a terrible defeat, and thanked him that he had not given up hope of the state; whereas, if he had been the leader of the Carthaginians, he would have paid the penalty of his rashness with all sorts of tortures. But that he had effected his escape from love of his country, and not from mere desire of living, he showed by the rest of his life; for he let his beard and hair grow, and never afterwards reclined at table: moreover, he refused offices when they were offered him by the people, saying that the state needed more fortunate magistrates. While then Hannibal was spending his time in sloth and idleness, the Romans were beginning to get their breath again.

They had no arms ; old arms taken from enemies were removed from temples. Young men were wanting ; slaves were freed and armed. A treasury was lacking; the senators gladly offered their resources, and left themselves no gold, except what was in amulets and a ring apiece. The knights followed the example of the senators, and all the tribes imitated the knights. At last, they hardly had tablets and clerks enough for making lists of contributions since all private wealth was turned into the public treasury.

As Hannibal had given an opportunity to the Roman prisoners of ransoming themselves, ten of their number were sent to Rome to see about this matter, and no other pledge of their good faith was demanded of them than that they should swear to return to camp if they did not accomplish their purpose. The senate voted that they should not be ransomed and gave them the reply that those citizens were not essential to the state, who, when they were armed, could be conquered. One of the envoys who had gone from the camp of the Carthaginians, returned a little while afterwards to the camp, pretending he had forgotten something, and then overtook his companions before night. After the failure of the embassy, he therefore returned home ; for by his return to camp he maintained that he had been released from his oath. When this became known, the senate gave instructions to have him seized, bound, and taken to Hannibal. This thing broke down Hannibal's presumption more than anything else, namely, the thought that the senate and Roman people were so high-minded though in adversity.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. (215 B. C.)

The praetor, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, was the first to show that Hannibal could be conquered. For when Hannibal had come up to Nola in hopes of taking the city by betrayal, Marcellus having drawn up his line before the gate of the city, fought with him and routed the Carthaginians. Hannibal, defeated, led his army to Casilinum, a small city of Campania. Although the garrison in it was small, still a scarcity of provisions made it seem that there were too many men. Hannibal at first began to cajole the inhabitants with friendly speeches to open the gates; finally, when they stood firm in their allegiance to the Romans, he approached the city, and prepared to force the gates and break open the barricades. Then two cohorts, which had been drawn up inside for that very purpose, rushed out of the city with a great uproar, defeated the Carthaginians and drove Hannibal back. Finally, as winter was coming on, Hannibal leaving a garrison around Casilinum, so that the matter might not seem neglected, withdrew into winter quarters at Capua, and kept his army under cover for the greater part of the winter. As soon as spring opened, Hannibal returned to Casilinum, where, although there had been a cessation of hostilities, the long continued siege had nevertheless reduced the townspeople and garrison to extreme want. The river Volturnus, swollen with water, kept Marcellus from aiding the besieged, though he desired to do so. When Gracchus, who, with the Roman cavalry, had his camp not far off, had filled many wide-mouthed jars with grain collected from the fields, he sent a message to Casilinum to the magistrate

there to fish out the jars which the river carried down. The following night, the jars sent down stream, floated down. The grain was evenly divided among all. This was done again on the next day and the one after that. The jars were put into the river and arrived at their destination at night : thus they escaped the notice of the enemy's sentinels. When, however, this device was detected, and Hannibal intercepted the jars by stretching a chain across the river, the Romans scattered nuts, which were gathered by the townspeople in weirs as soon as they floated down near the town, and these relieved their want. Finally, such a degree of destitution was reached that the people of Casilinum tried to eat straps and skins pulled off their shields which they softened in hot water, and they even had recourse to mice and other such animals. One of them preferred to sell a mouse that he had caught for thirty-eight dollars rather than eat him himself to appease his hunger. But Providence allotted to both buyer and seller the fate which each deserved. For the grasping man perished from hunger and could not enjoy his money, but the buyer obtained food and lived. At last they dug up all sorts of herbs and roots at the bottom of the embankment of the wall, and when the enemy ploughed up the place, they sowed turnip seed, so that Hannibal exclaimed, "Am I going to sit here at Casilinum while that is growing?" And men who had never before given ear to any overtures, then at last did not refuse just terms of surrender.

Afterwards, when Sicily had revolted from the Romans to the Carthaginians, Marcellus was elected consul, and besieged Syracuse, the most noted city of Sicily. The siege was long, and Marcellus did not take the city till after three years. He would have

brought the matter to a conclusion more quickly if there had not been one man in Syracuse at that time, Archimedes, a man endowed with wonderful genius, who destroyed the Roman works by various devices which he contrived. After Syracuse was taken, Marcellus, who was delighted with the wonderful skill of the man, issued the order that his life should be spared. Archimedes was so busy drawing figures in the sand that he had not become aware of the fact that his native city was taken; and when a soldier who had broken into his house in search of booty stood over him with drawn sword and asked him who he was, he was so eager to pursue his investigations that he did not tell his name, but merely said : "Don't, I beg you, disturb my circles." The result was that he was killed by the soldier. Marcellus deplored his death and took charge of his burial.

When Marcellus came to the city, after the taking of Syracuse, he asked permission to celebrate a triumph on his entrance to Rome. He did not obtain this request, but only that he might enter celebrating an ovation. On the day before he was to enter the city, without the senate's permission, he celebrated a triumph on the Alban Mount : from there, receiving an ovation, he brought much booty before him into the city. Together with a painted representation of captured Syracuse, were borne many decorations of the city, and splendid statues with which Syracuse had been adorned. All of these he took to the Temple of Honor and Virtue ; he put nothing in his own house ; nothing in his gardens. And when the Sicilians had come to Rome to complain of Marcellus, who was then holding the office of consul, he of his own accord submitted for consideration the question whether they should be admitted to the senate, and bore patiently

their complaints of him. When their accusations had been disallowed by the senators, he received them with forbearance when they asked to be taken under his protection; he did not practise any hostilities against them, and during the remainder of his life did not cease doing them kindnesses.

The following year he was again sent against Hannibal. There was a hillock between the Carthaginian and Roman camps, which Marcellus wanted to seize. But when he went ahead with a few horsemen to reconnoitre the place, he fell into an ambuscade which Hannibal had placed, and being pierced with a lance, died. Hannibal found the body of Marcellus, and gave orders to have it buried with due honor.

GAIUS CLAUDIUS NERO AND MARCUS LIVIUS SALINATOR.
(207 B. C.)

Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, set out from Spain with large forces and hurried into Italy. The fate of the Roman empire would without doubt have been sealed if that man had joined his forces with those of his brother. Therefore both consuls, Gaius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius Salinator, set out from Rome, the one to Cisalpine Gaul to meet Hasdrubal on his descent from the Alps, the other to Apulia to oppose Hannibal's progress. Livius had a long-standing grudge against Nero; nevertheless, when Nero was given him as a colleague, forgetting the very serious injury which he had received at his hands, he made friends with him, so that public affairs might not be badly administered through private dissensions.

The senators, delighted at this renewal of friend-

ship, attended the consuls on their departure to their provinces. For it had been agreed between them that each, in his own province, should block the enemy, and not allow their forces to be combined.

Meantime Hasdrubal entered Italy, and sent four horsemen with a letter to Hannibal; they were taken prisoners and brought to Nero. When the consul became aware of Hasdrubal's design, he decided to venture an unexpected move; and because he was desirous of destroying Hasdrubal and his forces before they should join his brother Hannibal, and on that account was in a hurry to add his troops to those of his colleague Livius Salinator, yet did not want his withdrawal from Hannibal whom he was opposing, to be known, he picked out ten thousand of the bravest soldiers, and instructed the lieutenants whom he left behind to station the same sentries and watchmen as usual, and keep the same number of fires burning, and the appearance of the camp the same, so that Hannibal might not suspect something, and become more venturesome against the small remaining force. He therefore set out at night with his picked troops, and having without Hannibal's knowledge traversed almost the whole of Italy in six days' time, arrived at Livius' camp, and both joining their forces conquered Hasdrubal at Sena. Fifty-six thousand of the enemy were killed: five thousand four hundred were taken prisoners. Hasdrubal himself, not to survive so terrible a defeat, spurring on his horse, rushed against a Roman cohort, and fell fighting, a death that was worthy of his father Hamilcar and his brother Hannibal. But Nero returned to his own camp the night that followed the battle, with the same speed with which he had come, before Hannibal had discovered that he had gone away. He gave orders to have Hasdrubal's head,

which he had carefully saved, thrown before the enemy's pickets. After this Hannibal began to despair of the result of the war, For when he saw the head of his dead brother he is reported to have said that he recognized the fate of Carthage.

PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS. (218 B. C.)

Publius Cornelius Scipio, before he had passed the age of boyhood, saved his father's life by his remarkable courage. For when, in the battle which was fought at the Ticinus against Hannibal, the latter was seriously wounded and just on the point of falling into the hands of the enemy, his son by interposing his body, opposed himself to the on-rushing Carthaginians and freed his father from danger. This act of filial affection gained for him the favor of the people when he was afterward a candidate for the aedileship. When the tribunes of the people opposed him, saying that no account ought to be made of him, because he was not yet the legal age for running, Scipio said: "If all the citizens want to elect me aedile, I am old enough." Thereupon they proceeded to vote for him with such evident partiality that the tribunes desisted from their attempt.

After the disastrous defeat at Cannae, the remnant of the Roman army had fled for refuge to Canusium; and though there were four tribunes of the soldiers there, still the chief command was unanimously given to Publius Scipio, though but a youth. As they were deliberating, Publius Furius Philus, the son of a man of consular rank, reported to them that certain young men of noble family were contemplating leaving Italy in despair. Scipio immediately became a guest-

friend of Metellus, who was the leader of the plot, and as he found there the assembly of young men, about whom the news had been brought, drawing his sword above their heads as they were consulting together, he said: "Swear that you neither will desert the government of the Roman people, yourselves, nor allow any other Roman citizen to desert it, and let him who does not swear know that this sword has been drawn against him." No less terrified than if they saw the victorious Hannibal, they all took the oath, and gave themselves over to Scipio to be watched.

Since the Romans had received two defeats in Spain, and had lost their two greatest generals there within thirty days of each other, it was voted to increase the army and to send a proconsul; but nevertheless they could not agree whom to send. An assembly of the people was appointed to decide the matter. At first the people waited for those who thought themselves fitted for such an important command to declare themselves candidates; but not a man presumed to undertake that command. Therefore the citizens went down to the Campus Martius on the day for holding the comitia dejectedly and at their wit's end. All at once, Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was not quite twenty-four years old, taking his position on a rather high place, declared himself a candidate; and after the faces of all were turned on him, they all to a man bade Scipio be proconsul in Spain. But after their enthusiasm cooled, the Roman people began to repent their action, being apprehensive especially on account of Scipio's youth. When Scipio learned this, he called a meeting, and spoke about the war so nobly and with such high spirit, that he relieved the people of their anxiety and inspired them with most assured hope.

Scipio then going into Spain, took New Carthage by

storm on the day of his arrival. Into this town had been brought together almost all the resources of Africa and Spain; there were arms and money, and the hostages from the whole of Spain: all of which fell into Scipio's hands. Among the prisoners there was brought to him a beautiful young girl. When he learned that she was born of good family among the Celtiberians and was betrothed to a young man of this tribe, he summoned her parents and returned her to her betrothed. The parents of the girl who had brought a tolerably large weight of gold for ransoming her, begged Scipio to receive it from them as a gift. But Scipio bade them put the gold down at his feet, and calling the girl's betrothed to him said: "Besides the dowry which you are going to receive from your father-in-law, this shall be added by me as a bridal gift," and he bade him take the gold and keep it. The young man on his return home, to requite Scipio won over the Celtiberians to the Romans.

At last Scipio conquered Hasdrubal, and drove him out of Spain. Having got possession of the enemy's camp he gave up all the booty to the soldiers, but sent the Spanish prisoners home without a ransom; the Africans, however, he ordered sold. There was among them a grown boy, of royal blood and conspicuous beauty; when Scipio asked him who he was, and of what country, and why he was in camp at that age, the boy replied: "I am a Numidian, my fellow-countrymen call me Massiva; left an orphan by my father, I was brought up at the court of my maternal grandfather, the king of Numidia. With my mother's father, Masinissa, who came recently to help the Carthaginians, I crossed over into Spain; forbidden by Masinissa on account of my youth, I never took part in a battle before. The day when the battle with the Romans was

fought, without my uncle's knowledge I secretly took arms and a horse and went out into the line of battle; there my horse fell and I was taken prisoner by the Romans." Scipio asked him if he wanted to go back to his uncle. When, shedding tears of joy, the boy said certainly he did wish it, Scipio gave him a gold ring, and a horse all bridled and saddled, and sent him away with horsemen to escort him in safety. As Publius Cornelius Scipio had acted with forbearance toward Spain, a great crowd pressing around him, with great unanimity called him king; but Scipio, enjoining silence through a herald, said: "The title of general which my soldiers have given me is the highest in my eyes. The title of king, honorable in other places, is intolerable at Rome. If you judge that most noble which is kingly, you may think that I have a kingly soul, but I beg you to refrain from the designation of king." Even barbarians felt the greatness of soul with which Scipio put aside that which other men admire and desire.

When Scipio, after recovering Spain, was already meditating carrying the war over into Africa itself, he decided that he ought first to propitiate the kings and tribes. He decided to try Syphax, king of the Moors first, the richest king in all Africa, who he hoped would be of great use to him. He therefore sent to him as an envoy with gifts, Gaius Laelius with whom he lived on terms of most intimate friendship. Syphax expressed his willingness to accept the friendship of the Romans, but would not give or take a pledge except with the Roman leader himself, in person. Scipio therefore crossed to Africa. By chance it so happened that at that very time, Hasdrubal driven from Spain was sailing to the same harbor, having likewise the intention of asking Syphax' friendship. Both

were invited by the king to enjoy his hospitality. They dined together with the king, and Scipio and Hasdrubal even reclined on the same couch. So great was Scipio's affability that he won the heart, not only of Syphax but even of Hasdrubal his most deadly foe. Scipio made a treaty with Syphax and returned to Spain to his army.

Masinissa also had for a long time been eager to make friends with Scipio. For this reason he sent three of the chief men among the Numidians to him to appoint a time and place for a conference. He gave orders to have two kept by Scipio as hostages; when the third had been sent back to bring Masinissa to the appointed place, Scipio, Masinissa and a few others came to the conference. The Numidian had already conceived an admiration for the man owing to the fame of his exploits, but a greater veneration took hold of him now that he met him face to face; for there was very great dignity in his countenance: he had, too, long hair and a prepossessing person, not elegantly adorned, but truly manly and soldier-like and blooming with youth. Almost overwhelmed by the mere meeting, the Numidian thanked him for the release of his nephew: he said that from that time he had sought such an opportunity, and had not neglected it now that it was at last offered: that he wanted to assist him and the Roman people. Scipio heard him gladly and made an alliance with him.

Scipio then returned to Rome and was made consul before the legal age. Sicily was voted to him as his province, and permission was given for him to cross from there to Africa. When he wanted to make up the number of three hundred horsemen from the bravest Roman infantry, and could not provide them at once with arms and horses, he effected this by a

clever plan. For from all Sicily he picked out three hundred of the richest young men, of the noblest families, to serve as cavalry and cross to Africa with him, and set them a day on which to come, provided and equipped with horses and arms. This difficult military service, far from home, seemed likely to offer many perils on land and sea, and this anxiety distressed not only the young men themselves, but their parents and relatives. When the day which had been appointed came, they produced their arms and horses, but almost all evidently shrank from a long and severe war. Then Scipio said that he would excuse them from service if they would consent to give up their arms and horses to the Roman soldiers. The young Sicilians gladly acceded to this proposition. Thus Scipio provided and equipped his cavalry without public expense.

Scipio then set out from Sicily to Africa with a favorable wind, and with such zeal on the part of his soldiers that it did not seem as if they were being led to war, but to the assured rewards of victory. The ships were quickly borne out of sight of Sicily, and in a short time the shores of Africa came in sight. Scipio, on stepping from his ship on land had fallen, but when he saw that the soldiers were terrified because of this, he turned a circumstance which was producing fear to one of encouragement, saying: "I have fallen upon Africa, soldiers." Disembarking his troops, he pitched his camp on the nearest hills. He did not punish the spies of the enemy caught there and brought to him, nor did he ask them about the plans and strength of the Carthaginians, but he had them escorted through all the maniples of the Roman army. Finally, after asking them if they had sufficiently examined what they had been instructed to observe, he gave them breakfast and dismissed them unharmed.

When Scipio came to Africa, Masinissa joined him with a small squadron of cavalry. But Syphax had deserted from the Romans to the Carthaginians. Hasdrubal, the leader of the Carthaginians, and Syphax put themselves in opposition to Scipio ; but he broke through the camps of each in one night and burned them.

Syphax himself was taken prisoner, and dragged alive to Scipio. When the news was brought that Syphax was being led into camp, all the people thronged as if to see a triumph. Syphax went in front in chains ; a large body of noble Moors followed him. All were moved at the misfortune of a man whose friendship Scipio had once sought. Scipio sent the king and the other prisoners to Rome : he presented Masinissa, who had effectively aided the Roman cause, with a crown of gold.

These and other defeats which followed inspired the Carthaginians with such fear that they called Hannibal back from Italy to protect his country. Gnashing his teeth, groaning, and scarcely controlling his tears, he is said to have listened to the words of the envoys, and to have obeyed their instructions. Again and again he turned his eyes back to the shores of Italy, blaming himself because he had not led his victorious army straight to Rome after the battle of Cannae. Hannibal had come to Zama, a city which is five days' journey from Carthage, and sent a message to Scipio to grant him an opportunity of conferring with him. As Scipio did not decline a conference, a day and place were appointed. Thus the two most distinguished generals of their age met. They stood for some time in silence, and motionless in mutual admiration. But when no agreement had been reached concerning terms of peace, they returned each to his

own troops, announcing that recourse must be had to arms. A battle being then fought, Hannibal was defeated and fled with four horsemen. It is, however, well known that each acknowledged of the other that his line could not have been better drawn up, nor his troops have fought more sharply.

The Carthaginians were struck with terror, and sent as spokesmen to ask for peace thirty of the leading men of the state. When they came to the camp of the Romans, they asked pardon for their state, not excusing their fault but ascribing the beginning of the fault to Hannibal. Scipio dictated terms of peace to the conquered. The envoys did not refuse any of the terms of peace, and proceeded to Rome that what had been stipulated by Scipio might be confirmed by the authority of the senate and people. Thus, peace having been made on land and sea, Scipio embarked his army and returned to Rome. He was met on his return by a great throng; the people pouring forth not only from the cities but even from the country, blocked the way. Scipio rode into the city mid the applause of the joyful populace, his triumph being the most splendid of all ever celebrated in Rome, and he was the first general to be known by the name of the people he had conquered ; he was called Africanus.

From these exploits arose the common belief that he had superhuman courage. I am not ashamed to say what historians have committed to writing about him, that Scipio used to go often to the Capitol before it grew light and give orders to have the shrine of Jupiter opened, and used to linger there alone for a long time, as if conferring with Jupiter about the state, and that the custodians of the temple often were astonished because the dogs, who were always furious at others, did not bark at him when he entered the Capitol

at that hour. Many wonderful sayings and deeds of Scipio seemed to confirm and prove these beliefs of the common people, of which there is one of this kind. He was blockading and besieging a town in Spain strongly fortified by location, walls, and defenders, also well supplied with food, and there was no hope of taking it. One day Scipio was sitting holding court in the camp, and from that place the town mentioned above was visible in the distance. Then one of the soldiers who were standing near him in court asked him, as the custom was, when and where he bade the accused appear for trial. And Scipio, stretching out his hand toward the very citadel of the town which was being besieged, said : "Let them appear day after to-morrow in that place," and so it actually happened. On the second day, that on which he had bidden them appear for trial, the town was taken. On the same day he held court in the citadel of this town.

Hannibal, defeated by Scipio, and an object of hatred to his countrymen, fled to Antiochus, king of Syria, and made him hostile to the Romans. Envoys were sent from Rome to Antiochus; among these was Scipio Africanus. He conferred with Hannibal at Ephesus, and asked him who, in his estimation, was the greatest general. Hannibal answered that Alexander, King of the Macedonians, seemed to him the greatest, because he had routed enormous armies with a small force. When Scipio next asked him whom he placed second, he replied : "Pyrrhus, because he was the first to teach his soldiers to measure off a camp, and nobody chose a place for a camp and stationed guards more judiciously than he." Finally, when Scipio inquired whom he considered third, he said "himself." Then Scipio said with a smile, "What would you say if you had conquered me?" "In that event," replied Hannibal,

"I should surely have put myself before Alexander and Pyrrhus and all other generals." Thus, by an unforeseen bit of flattery, he separated Scipio from the common herd of generals as if beyond comparison.

Scipio himself is reported to have once said when certain persons said that he was not warlike enough, "My mother bore me a general, not a mere fighter." He also used to say that a road for escape should not only be given to cowards, but one should even be built for them.

When war had been declared against Antiochus, and the province of Syria had fallen to the lot of Lucius Scipio, because he was thought to have too little courage and strength, the senate was desirous of committing the conduct of this war to his colleague, Gaius Laelius. Then Scipio Africanus, Lucius Scipio's elder brother, rising, pleaded against the proposed dishonor to his family, saying that his brother was very brave and very wise, and promising to act himself as his lieutenant. On his saying this no change was made in Lucius Scipio's province, and so the elder brother went to Asia as lieutenant to the younger, and gave him his advice and aid until the latter gained a triumph and the surname Asiaticus.

In the same war the son of Scipio Africanus was taken prisoner and brought to Antiochus. The king treated the young man kindly and generously, although it was by his father chiefly that he was that very moment being driven from the confines of his kingdom. When afterwards Antiochus begged peace from the Romans, his envoy went to Publius Scipio and said that the king would return his son to him without a ransom if by this means he, the king, could secure peace. Scipio's reply to him was: "Go, tell the king that I thank him for such a gift, but that I can now make him

no other requital than to urge him to refrain from war, and not to reject any terms of peace." The peace was not arranged; nevertheless, Antiochus sent Scipio's son back to him, preferring to do honor to the nobility of such a man than to punish him for his own disappointment. When, after Antiochus had been conquered, an account of the booty was demanded of Lucius Scipio, Africanus tore in pieces the book which his brother had brought out, in which were contained the sums received and expended, and by which his enemies' accusation could be refuted, indignant that there should be any doubt about what had been done when he was himself lieutenant. He even delivered a speech to the following effect: "There is no reason why you should ask, fellow-citizens, whether I put back this small sum of money into the treasury when, before, I filled it full with Carthaginian gold, nor can my honesty be called in question. Though I brought the whole of Africa under your sway, I got nothing from it but my surname. Evidently the treasures of Carthage did not make me grasping, nor did those of Asia, my brother, but we are each of us richer in unpopularity than in money." The senate unanimously allowed so consistent a defence on the part of Scipio.

Finally, two tribunes of the people appointed a day for the trial of Scipio Africanus, on the charge that he had cheated the treasury of plunder taken from Antiochus. When the day for pleading his cause came, Scipio was led into the forum amid a great crowd of people. Being bidden to plead his cause, he mounted the rostrum, and, having put on his triumphal crown, said: "This is the day on which I defeated in a great battle in Africa Hannibal, the Carthaginian, the greatest foe to our country, and gained for us peace and an unexpected victory. Let us not, then, be ungrateful to

the gods, but I think we should leave these tricksters and go at once to the Capitol to pray to Jupiter, greatest and best." From the rostrum Scipio went up to the Capitol; at once the whole assembly turned from his accusers and followed him, and no one except the herald whose business it was to summon the defendant remained with the tribunes. This day was more famous for the good will of the people than that on which he had entered the city, celebrating his triumph over King Syphax and the Carthaginians. From there, so as not to be troubled further by the insults of the tribunes, he retired to his estate near Liternum, where he passed the rest of his life without any longing for the city.

When he was living in retirement in his villa at Liternum, several leaders of robber bands happened to assemble to see him. As he thought that they had come to offer violence, he stationed a guard of slaves in his house and made other preparations which were necessary for repelling them. When the robbers found this out, throwing down their arms, they approached the door, and in a loud voice explained to Scipio that they had not come as foes to his life, but as admirers of his bravery, craving a chance to see so great a man, as a sort of heaven-sent favor; hence he should not be reluctant to let himself be seen. When Scipio heard this, he gave orders to unlock the doors and let them in. Having worshiped the door-posts like some very holy altar, they eagerly caught hold of Scipio's right hand, and for a long time kept pressing kisses upon it. Then, putting down their gifts on the threshold, they went back home delighted at having had a chance of seeing Scipio. Scipio died soon after, and on his deathbed asked his wife not to have his body taken back to Rome.

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS. (197–196 B. C.)

The consul, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, was sent against Philip, king of the Macedonians, who had aided Hannibal with money and troops and had harassed the Athenians, allies of the Roman people. The Athenians had, however, made war against Philip for a reason by no means worthy such a step. Two young Acarnanians, who had not been initiated, entered the temple of Ceres with the rest of the crowd. Their speech easily betrayed them. They were brought before the high-priests of the temple, and though it was evident that they had entered by mistake, they were put to death as though they had committed a terrible crime. The Acarnanians were aroused at the murder of their countrymen and asked Philip's aid in punishing the Athenians: he laid Attica waste with fire and sword, took several towns, and stormed Athens itself.

Quinctius, having levied an army and crossed over from Brindisi to Epirus, proceeded to Greece by forced marches and came to the enemy's camp. Then a herald with a flag of truce, sent by the king, appeared, asking a time and place for a conference. Though Flamininus was more eager for victory than peace, he, nevertheless, came to the conference at the appointed time and demanded that Philip should leave Greece entirely. But the king was so inflamed with indignation at this that he exclaimed, "What heavier commands would you lay upon the vanquished, Titus Quinctius?" and added, that the last day's sun had not yet set. And so, without having reached any agreement, he rushed from the conference. Flamininus routed him in battle and took his camp from him.

Quinctius Flamininus restored Greece to its former condition, that it should govern itself by its own laws and enjoy its ancient liberty. It was the time of the Isthmian games, and all Greece had assembled to see them. Then when all had taken their places to view the games, a herald advanced into the middle of the arena, and having proclaimed silence by a blast of the trumpet, made the following announcement: The senate and the Roman people and the general, Titus Quinctius, now that king Philip and the Macedonians have been conquered, decree that all the states of Greece shall be free. When the words of the herald were heard there was greater joy than mortals could imagine. They hardly believed that they had heard aright; each man looked at his neighbor in astonishment. When the herald had been called back because they wanted not only to hear, but to see, the bearer of their liberty, he again made the same proclamation. Then, in truth, such applause and cheering arose that it was clearly seen that no boon was more acceptable to the people than liberty. It is a well-known fact that the noise was so great that the birds which were flying over were bewildered and dropped to the ground in fear.

A triumph was voted to Quinctius Flamininus by the senate. Afterwards, when Prusias, the king of Bithynia, had sent envoys to Rome, it happened that the envoys were dining with Flamininus, and on mention of Hannibal being made often, one of them said that he was in Prusias' kingdom. The next day Flamininus reported this to the senate. The senate, which was never free from dread so long as Hannibal was alive, sent envoys to Bithynia, and among them Flamininus, to demand that Hannibal be given up to them. There, whether because Flamininus reproached

Prusias that the man most dangerous of all alive to the Roman people was at his court, who had led first his country and then King Antiochus to make war against the Roman people, or because Prusias himself, to please the Romans, had of his own accord formed the purpose of killing or surrendering him, Flamininus' soldiers were sent directly from the first conference to guard Hannibal's house.

Hannibal had always had a mental vision of such an end to his life, perceiving the undying hatred of the Romans toward him, and not in the least trusting the good faith of the king. That he might, therefore, always have some means of escape ready, he had made seven exits from his house, some of them secret, so that they should not be blocked up by guards. But the king's soldiers so surrounded the whole house round about with guards that nobody could escape from it. After it was told Hannibal that the king's soldiers were in the porch, he tried to escape by a very carefully concealed postern gate; but when he found that this, too, was barricaded, and that all exits were closed by guards who had been stationed at various points, he demanded the poison which he had prepared long before for just such an emergency. "Let us free the Roman people," he said, "from their long-continued anxiety, since they think it tedious to wait for the natural death of an old man. The victory which Flamininus will gain over a man unarmed and betrayed into his hands will be neither great nor memorable. How much the character of the Roman people has changed, certainly this day will bear evidence. Their fathers warned King Pyrrhus, though an enemy in arms and having an army in Italy, to be on his guard against poison. They have sent a man of consular rank as envoy to instigate Prusias wickedly to kill his

guest." Then, having cursed the life and kingdom of Prusias, he drained the cup. Such was the end of Hannibal's life.

LUCIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS. (191-190 B. C.)

Lucius Scipio, the brother of Africanus, was physically weak: still he was sent as consul, his brother acting as his lieutenant, against Antiochus, who, at Hannibal's instigation, had undertaken war against the Romans. When he had reached Asia, he pitched his camp hardly two miles from the enemy, and when, a few days later, he had drawn up his troops in battle array, Antiochus did not decline the combat. When, however, the two lines were in sight of each other, a fog arising, produced dampness, which did not at all injure the Roman troops, but seriously discommoded those of the king; for humidity did not blunt the swords and darts of the Romans, but it had made slack the bows which Antiochus' soldiers used, and the slings and the thongs of the javelins. Therefore, the king's army was routed and put to flight. Antiochus himself escaped with a few men and retired to Lydia. Then the states of Asia surrendered to the victor. Lucius Scipio, returning to Rome, celebrated a triumph with great renown, and received the surname of Asiaticus.

Afterwards, Lucius Scipio was accused at the same time as his brother of having taken money from Antiochus, and though he maintained that all the booty had been turned over to the treasury, still he was condemned, and was just being led to prison. Then Tiberius Gracchus, the tribune of the people, though an enemy of Scipio, said that he and Scipio were not

on good terms, and he did not act so as to curry favor, but that he could not endure to have Lucius Scipio, the brother of Africanus, who had led hostile kings and generals to prison, in prison and in chains, and that he gave instructions to have him released. The senate returned sincere thanks to Tiberius Gracchus because he had considered the state of more importance than private dissensions.

Afterwards the praetor sent the quaestors to confiscate Lucius Scipio's property, and take possession of it in the name of the state. In it there was not only no trace of wealth received from the king, but so large a sum was by no means realized as the amount for which he was condemned. So much money was collected for Lucius Scipio from his relatives, friends and clients, that if he took it he would be considerably richer than he had been before his condemnation. He did not take a penny: what was necessary for living properly, his nearest relatives bought back for him. Later, Marcus Cato, the censor, took away his horse from him, by way of humiliation.

PUBLIUS SCIPIO NASICA, FATHER AND SON.

When Publius Scipio Nasica, a cousin of Scipio Africanus, was a young man and was running for the office of curule aedile, he took, as was the custom of candidates, the hand of a Roman citizen, and finding it callous by work in the fields, asked him jokingly if he was in the habit of walking on his hands. This speech, repeated by the bystanders, came to the ears of the people, and proved the cause of Scipio's defeat. For all the rural tribes, thinking that he had upbraided them with their poverty, gave vent to their anger against his insulting city ways. This

defeat turned the character of the noble youth from insolence, and made him a good and useful citizen.

When Hannibal was devastating Italy, they say that a prophecy was found in the Sibylline books, to the effect that the enemy could be driven from Italy, if Mother Idaea were brought from Pessinus to Rome and hospitably received at the house of the best citizen. Envoys were sent about this matter to Attalus, king of Pergamus, who received them courteously and took them to Pessinus. Then a man had to be found to entertain the goddess fitly. The senate decided that Publius Scipio Nasica was, of all the important men in the state, the best. He afterwards, when consul, refused the name of imperator offered him by his soldiers, and the triumph offered by the senate, saying that he had gained enough glory to last him his whole life the day when he had been declared the best man by the senate : by this title, even without the office of consul, and though he had not enjoyed the additional renown of a triumph, the ancestral image of Publius Scipio Nasica would be sufficiently honored.

The son, Scipio Nasica, of this same man, on being elected censor, proved dignified and strict. When he was taking a census of the knights, he saw one who was plump and sleek while his horse was lean and badly kept. "And why it is," said the censor, "that you are better fed than your horse?" "Because," answered the knight, "I feed myself, and my servant feeds my horse." As this reply seemed lacking in respect, the knight was severely reprimanded and fined a large sum. This same Scipio Nasica lived on very intimate terms with the poet Ennius. Once he went to see Ennius, and the maid told him when he inquired for Ennius at the door that he was not at home. Nasica perceived that she said this in accordance with her

master's orders and that Ennius really was in the house. A few days later when Ennius came to see Nasica, and inquired for him at the door, Nasica called out that he was not at home. Ennius then said "How is this? Don't I know your voice?" Whereupon Nasica answered: "You are an impudent fellow. When I inquired for you, I believed your maid that you were not at home. Won't you believe me myself?"

MARCUS PORCIUS CATO. (234–149 B. C.)

Marcus Porcius Cato was born in the municipal town of Tusculum. As a young man, before he turned his attention to politics, he lived in the country on his paternal estates, but later he moved to Rome and began to take part in public affairs. He served his first campaign at the age of seventeen, when Quintus Fabius and Marcus Claudius were consuls. He joined the forces of Gaius Claudius Nero, and his aid was considered of great value in the battle at Sena where Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother fell. From youth he practised temperance and self control. He used goat skins for bed coverings, and ate the same food as the soldiers. When he was on duty he took water if tormented by extreme heat, vinegar, if his strength failed; only a little wine.

The quaestorship under Scipio Africanus fell to his lot, and he did not live with him on very friendly terms, for, loving economy himself, he did not approve of the expenses which Scipio assumed. Accordingly, leaving him, he returned to Rome and there openly and bitterly found fault with Scipio's mode of life, on the ground that under his leadership military discipline was relaxed. He asserted repeatedly that Scipio had

the habit of walking in the gymnasium in cloak and sandals, that he gave his attention to books and the exercise of wrestling, and allowed license on the part of the soldiers. This charge Scipio answered not by word but by deed. For when envoys were sent from Rome to Syracuse to investigate the affair, Scipio ordered the whole army to assemble there, and the fleet to be made ready as if they must fight with the Carthaginians that day by land and sea; the next day he held a mock battle with the envoys as spectators. Then he showed them the armories, the granaries, and all the other preparations for war. The envoys returned to Rome and reported that everything about Scipio's army was in excellent order.

Cato inveighed against the luxury of women with the same severity. For when the Punic war was at its height, the tribune of the people, Oppius had proposed a law by which Roman women were forbidden to have more than half an ounce of gold, to wear bright clothing or ride in a two-horse carriage in the city. But when the war was over, and the state prosperous again, the matrons demanded to have their former adornments restored to them. They beset all the streets of the city and begged the men on their way to the forum to repeal the Oppian law. Cato opposed them in a stinging speech, but in vain, for the law was repealed.

Cato having been elected consul, proceeded into Spain against the Celtiberians, defeated them in a fierce battle, and forced them to surrender. In this war he vied with the lowest of the soldiers in economy vigils and toil, nor did he exercise his power more strictly and severely against anyone than himself. When he saw that the Spaniards were on the point of revolting, he thought he ought to take care that

they could not rebel. It seemed to him that he could accomplish this by tearing down their walls. But fearing that the states would not obey if he issued a command to all at once by a joint edict, he wrote to them separately enjoining them to tear down their fortifications, threatening war if they did not immediately obey, and he gave orders to have the letters delivered to all the states on the same day. Since each thought itself the only one to have received such instructions, they all obeyed. Cato returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph over Spain. He maintained military discipline with the greatest severity. Once, when, after giving the signal for departure three times, he had set sail from a coast belonging to the enemy where he had stayed a few days, one of the soldiers who had been left behind, from the shore, by voice and gesture, begged to be taken on board. Cato putting his whole fleet back to shore, bade the man be seized and punished, using rather as an example the man whom the enemy would have ignominiously killed.

Later, having been made censor, he performed the duties of this office with strictness. For he not only punished several nobles but notably removed Lucius Flamininus, a man of consular rank, from the senate. When Flamininus was in Gaul, he invited a beautiful woman to a banquet, and happened to say to her while dining, that there were many men in prison condemned of a capital offense whom he was going to behead. Then the lady said that she had never seen an execution, and that nothing in the world would give her greater pleasure. Flamininus straightway gave orders to have one of the wretched men brought to him, and himself struck the blow with the ax. What more atrocious than to butcher a human victim mid

drinking and feasting, for the whim of a woman, and sprinkled the table with blood! But Cato thought he ought to be punished the more, because he had stained the dignity of the first office in the state by so foul a crime.

When discussion was going on in the senate about the third Punic War, Cato, who was already an old man, gave his opinion that Carthage ought to be destroyed, and declared that the state could not be safe as long as she stood. As he could not easily persuade the senators of this, since Scipio Nasica spoke against him, afterwards, no matter what subject was under discussion in the senate, Cato used to add: "I vote that Carthage be destroyed." Finally, he brought one day a ripe fig into the senate-house, and showing it to the senators, said: "I ask you when you think this fig was picked from the tree." When they all said that it was fresh, he replied: "Know, then, that this was picked at Carthage day before yesterday: so near to our walls have we an enemy." This circumstance changed the sentiments of the senators, and war was declared against the Carthaginians.

As Cato was a distinguished senator, so he was a good father. When a son had been born to him, he never allowed any, except public business, to prevent him from being present when the mother washed and dressed the infant. When the boy was old enough, he taught him to read, himself, although he had a learned slave in his house who was capable of doing this. For he was not willing to have the slave scold his son and box his ears if he was a little backward in learning: nor that his son should be under obligations to a slave for so great a boon, that is knowledge. So he was himself his school-master, his instructor in the laws, and his fencing master. He wrote with his own hand his-

tories in big letters, so that the boy, even in his father's house might have the customs and examples of the men of old time held before his eyes.

Cato took especial delight in farming, and preferred to gain wealth by the produce of his fields and flocks rather than by putting his money at interest. When somebody asked him what the best way of acquiring property was, he replied: "To give your herds good pasturage." "What the second?" "To give them tolerably good pasturage." "What the third?" "To give them even bad pasturage." "What the fourth?" "To till the fields." And when the man who was questioning him asked, "How about putting your money at interest?" Cato replied: "How about killing a man?" He himself wrote that his villas did not have even plastered roofs, and added: "I have no costly building, vase or garment: if a thing is such that I can use it, I use it; if it is not, I easily dispense with it. Some people regard it as a fault in me that I do without so many things; but I call it a fault in them that they cannot do without them." He also has left on record that he never put on a garment which cost more than nineteen dollars; that when he was holding the office of consul he had drunk the same wine as the workmen, and had bought provisions for a banquet in the forum for one dollar and forty-three cents, and that he had done this for the sake of the state. So that Seneca says: "Marcus Cato's birth was as advantageous to the state as Scipio's: for the latter waged war against our enemies; the former against our habits."

Cato was very slow to resent injuries. When, as he was pleading a case, a certain Lentulus spit directly in the middle of his forehead, he wiped off his face, saying: "I will declare to everybody that those are mistaken who say that you have no mouth"—[as we

should say, cheek]. By another impudent man he was insultingly reviled. Said Cato: "The fight is not a fair one between us; for you don't mind hearing insulting language and are ready to use it, whereas it is unpleasant to me to use it, and I am not accustomed to hear it." He used to say that our bitter enemies deserved better at our hands than those friends who merely seemed kind: for the former often spoke the truth, the latter never.

A certain superstitious man once found his leather boots gnawed by mice. Frightened at this prodigy, he asked Cato what disaster was portended. Cato answered, "It isn't a prodigy that mice have gnawed your boots, but if, on the other hand, your boots had gnawed the mice, that would have been a prodigy.

From youth to extreme old age, Cato never stopped incurring enmities on behalf of the state. Though he had to bear many accusations, he not only suffered no loss of character, but grew as long as he lived in reputation for virtue. Being accused by his enemies of a capital offense, in his eighty-fourth year, he argued his case himself throughout, and no one perceived any lack of readiness in his memory, impaired physical strength, or hesitation in speech.

Age did not weaken him nor distress him; though so old, he gave his support to his friends and often went into the senate. He even learned Greek after he was an old man. He was hardly aware when old age stole upon him. Little by little, without his perceiving it, age increased, and his life was not suddenly broken off, but went out as it were through lapse of time, He died at eighty-five years of age.